

TRAVELS

IN THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE, EGYPT, AND PERSIA,

UNDERTAKEN BY ORDER OF

THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE,

DURING THE FIRST SIX YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC,

BY

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OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE, &c. &c.*

Illustrated by Engravings,

CONSISTING OF

HUMAN FIGURES, ANIMALS, PLANTS, MAPS, PLANS;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A MAP OF GREECE, OF THE ARCHIPELAGO,

AND

OF A PART OF ASIA MINOR.

VOLUMES I. AND II.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

L O N D O N: . . .

PRINTED FOR T. N. LONGMAN AND O. REES, PATERNOSTER-ROW,
AND T. CADELL JUN. AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1801.

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(FIRST DELIVERY.)

TRAVELS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

- | | |
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Page	11	Line 2, for manner <i>read</i> mode
	22	— 13, for royal <i>read</i> imperial
	51	— 2, for saw <i>read</i> found
	83	— 2, for Nicodemia <i>read</i> Nicomedia
	157	— 1, for exists <i>read</i> exill
	166	— 18, for some remedies <i>read</i> of some remedies
	197	— 11, for people <i>read</i> nation

Note. In page 87 of this volume, we promised to consult the Author respecting the fish which he calls *pageau*. This we have done; and, as we conjectured, it proves to be the *sparus erythrinus* of LINNÆUS, which, in English, is known by the name of the *silvery-eye*, *red sparus*. In French it is more generally termed *pagel*; *pag-au* being a provincial appellation for the *sparus* of this specie.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE taste for reading travels is at the present day become so general, that a work of this nature, if executed with a certain degree of intelligence, can scarcely fail to meet with a favourable reception : it conveys instruction while it affords amusement ; it brings us acquainted with men and customs that were either imperfectly or not at all known to us ; and the contrast that necessarily exists between the manners of a distant country and those of our own, diffuses, in such narratives, an attractive singularity, which, at once, combines the interest of fable and the merit of history.

But not unfrequently the pleasure experienced in the perusal of these narratives is interrupted by long nautical details, which can be useful to seamen alone ; and, by minute, though scientific descriptions, which are entertaining only to naturalists : besides, in the greater part of the accounts of travels which are published, one either finds accidents common to almost all travellers, or adventures the improbability of which destroys the interest that they inspire.

The “ *TRAVELS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, EGYPT, AND PERSIA,*” the First Part of which we now offer to the Public, are exempt from these defects. The style of M. OLIVIER is simple, clear, and concise :

his narrative bears the stamp of truth ; indeed, in his *INTRODUCTION*, he declares that he has adopted the idea of the celebrated VOLNEY, who has said that “ *travels ought to be written in the manner of history, and not in that of romance* *.” Accordingly, our Author dwells not on trifles, though he leaves nothing important to be related by travellers who may hereafter visit the same countries ; and, without bewildering himself in the wide field of conjecture, he presents to his readers none but objects worthy of exciting the interest of the trader, the politician, the philosopher, and the man of science.

The picture which he exhibits of CONSTANTINOPLE is both boldly drawn and strongly coloured. In fact, it required a masterly pencil to paint a city no less remarkable from the natural beauties of its situation, the diversified scenery of its environs, the commodiousness of its harbour, and the mild temperature of its climate, than from the blind policy and supineness of its government, the turbulent and ferocious disposition of its inhabitants, and the malignant influence of the plague, that destructive scourge by which it is so frequently ravaged.

His account of TROAS cannot but be particularly interesting to the classical scholar ; while his description of the principal islands of the Greek ARCHIPELAGO, and of the once-famous Isle of CRETE, must be equally satisfactory to him and to the general reader. Lastly, the

* *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte.*

various engravings with which this work is enriched, will gratify curiosity, at the same time that they illustrate the text.

M. OLIVIER being already so well known as a naturalist of the first class by the different works which he has published *, it would be superfluous here to point out his merits in that line ; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing that he appears to us to have completely verified the opinion entertained of his *general* talents by those who selected him as a person qualified for the important mission on which he was employed. Of the truth of the assertion, this First Part of his “ *TRAVELS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. EGYPT, AND* “ *PERSIA,*” not only affords sufficient proof ; but justifies every confidence that the Second and Third Parts, with which he has also promised to favour us as soon as they are respectively completed, will enable us to accomplish the task on which we have entered, in such a manner as to leave no disappointment in the mind of our readers.

LONDON, August the 7th, 1801.

* 1. *Entomologie ou Histoire naturelle des Insectes, avec leurs caractères génériques et spécifiques, leur description, leur synonyme, et leur figure enluminée.* In 4 Vols. large 4to, with upwards of sixty plates to each.

2. *Dictionnaire des Insectes, faisant partie de l'Encyclopédie méthodique.* 4 Vols. 4to. This work is not yet finished : it will consist of seven or eight volumes.

3. *Mémoires d'Histoire naturelle et d'Agriculture,* which it would here be too tedious to enumerate.

☛ To spare the reader the trouble of reference, the Translator here inserts

A TABLE,

SHEWING THE CORRESPONDING DAYS OF
THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH CALENDARS.

¹ <i>Vendémiaire.</i>	³ <i>Frimaire.</i>	⁵ <i>Pluviose.</i>	⁷ <i>Germinal.</i>	⁹ <i>Frairial.</i>	¹¹ <i>Thermidor.</i>
1 Sept. 22	1 Nov. 21	1 Jan. 20	1 March 21	1 May 20	1 July 19
2 23	2 22	2 21	2 22	2 21	2 20
3 24	3 23	3 22	3 23	3 22	3 21
4 25	4 24	4 23	4 24	4 23	4 22
5 26	5 25	5 24	5 25	5 24	5 23
6 27	6 26	6 25	6 26	6 25	6 24
7 28	7 27	7 26	7 27	7 26	7 25
8 29	8 28	8 27	8 28	8 27	8 26
9 30	9 29	9 28	9 29	9 28	9 27
10 Oct. 1	10 30	10 29	10 30	10 29	10 28
11 2	11 Dec. 1	11 30	11 31	11 30	11 29
12 3	12 2	12 31	12 April 1	12 31	12 30
13 4	13 3	13 Feb. 1	13 2	13 June 1	13 31
14 5	14 4	14 2	14 3	14 2	14 Aug. 1
15 6	15 5	15 3	15 4	15 3	15 2
16 7	16 6	16 4	16 5	16 4	16 3
17 8	17 7	17 5	17 6	17 5	17 4
18 9	18 8	18 6	18 7	18 6	18 5
19 10	19 9	19 7	19 8	19 7	19 6
20 11	20 10	20 8	20 9	20 8	20 7
21 12	21 11	21 9	21 10	21 9	21 8
22 13	22 12	22 10	22 11	22 10	22 9
23 14	23 13	23 11	23 12	23 11	23 10
24 15	24 14	24 12	24 13	24 12	24 11
25 16	25 15	25 13	25 14	25 13	25 12
26 17	26 16	26 14	26 15	26 14	26 13
27 18	27 17	27 15	27 16	27 15	27 14
28 19	28 18	28 16	28 17	28 16	28 15
29 20	29 19	29 17	29 18	29 17	29 16
30 21	30 20	30 18	30 19	30 18	30 17

² <i>Brumaire.</i>	⁴ <i>Niv. se.</i>	⁶ <i>Ventose.</i>	⁸ <i>Floréal.</i>	¹⁰ <i>May. dr.</i>	¹² <i>Fruiridor.</i>
1 Oct. 22	1 Dec. 21	1 Feb. 19	1 April 20	1 June 19	1 Aug. 18
2 23	2 22	2 20	2 21	2 20	2 19
3 24	3 23	3 21	3 22	3 21	3 20
4 25	4 24	4 22	4 23	4 22	4 21
5 26	5 25	5 23	5 24	5 23	5 22
6 27	6 26	6 24	6 25	6 24	6 23
7 28	7 27	7 25	7 26	7 25	7 24
8 29	8 28	8 26	8 27	8 26	8 25
9 30	9 29	9 27	9 28	9 27	9 26
10 Nov. 31	10 30	10 28	10 29	10 28	10 27
11 1	11 31	11 March 1	11 30	11 29	11 28
12 2	12 Jan. 1	12 2	12 May 1	12 30	12 29
13 3	13 2	13 3	13 2	13 July 1	13 30
14 4	14 3	14 4	14 3	14 2	14 31
15 5	15 4	15 5	15 4	15 3	15 Sept. 1
16 6	16 5	16 6	16 5	16 4	16 2
17 7	17 6	17 7	17 6	17 5	17 3
18 8	18 7	18 8	18 7	18 6	18 4
19 9	19 8	19 9	19 8	19 7	19 5
20 10	20 9	20 10	20 9	20 8	20 6
21 11	21 10	21 11	21 10	21 9	21 7
22 12	22 11	22 12	22 11	22 10	22 8
23 13	23 12	23 13	23 12	23 11	23 9
24 14	24 13	24 14	24 13	24 12	24 10
25 15	25 14	25 15	25 14	25 13	25 11
26 16	26 15	26 16	26 15	26 14	26 12
27 17	27 16	27 17	27 16	27 15	27 13
28 18	28 17	28 18	28 17	28 16	28 14
29 19	29 18	29 19	29 18	29 17	29 15
30 20	30 19	30 20	30 19	30 18	30 16

1st Complementary Day, Sept. 17
 2 - - - - - 18
 3 - - - - - 19
 4 - - - - - 20
 5 - - - - - 21

INTRODUCTION.

A CELEBRATED author has said that travels ought to be written in the manner of history, and not in that of romance*: he has proved to us in a clear, precise, and energetic style, that subjects the most serious, and discussions the most important, might interest every class of readers, and still please more than the flowery style, the romantic episodes, and the exaggerated or false descriptions of most travellers.

Penetrated, like him, with this truth, I have, in the following narrative, avoided all singular anecdotes, all humourous stories, more fit to amuse than instruct. I was not willing to employ those over-brilliant colours which may be captivating for a moment, but the effect of which is transient. The sight of a deserted field, covered with myrtles, or that of a garden confusedly planted with date and orange trees, could never inflame my imagination; and I have frequently surveyed, without astonishment, truncated capitals and scattered fragments of columns.

Not but I have been struck by the beauty of situations; not but the aspect of DELOS and of ATHENS, of ALEXANDRIA and of BABYLON,

* VOLNEY, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte.*

has drawn from me sighs. I never contemplated the BOSPHORUS, the PROPONTIS, and the HELLESPONT without being moved, without excusing CONSTANTINE, and without saying to myself, that Nature would have done every thing for these countries, had she not at the same time placed there the plague and a fanatic people, enemies to the arts and sciences.

CONSTANTINOPLE is interesting under so many considerations, that I thought it my duty not to quit that capital of the Ottoman Empire without giving a rapid sketch of the manners of a singular people, who appear to have been at first no more than a great religious and military society; without making known some of their customs; without casting an eye on their government; and without pointing out that despotism, so terrible towards tributary subjects, preserves, in regard to the Turks, moderate forms from which it would be dangerous to deviate. If the sultan and his ministers are invested with great power, the people are ever ready to rise if they abuse it.

TROAS recalled to my mind the fame of HOMER, and that war, true or fabulous, in which all the gods of OLYMPUS took a part. I trod with respect on the ashes of the Greek and Trojan heroes. I sought with eagerness the position of that famous city which for ten years sustained the efforts of all the Greeks united. I followed with pleasure the course of the SIMOÏS and SCAMANDER; but I lamented to see so few inhabitants, and so little culture on a soil which might be covered with luxuriant harvests.

The Islands of the ARCHIPELAGO appeared to me dry, parched, and mountainous, although productive, and situated in a happy climate. The Greeks who inhabit them, remote from the tyrants who oppress their country, have preserved their gaiety, their activity, and their love of independence: those of SCIO, protected by their privileges, shew themselves the most active, the most industrious, and the most honest of all.

The Island of CRETE, so wretched, so poor at this day, is interesting from its productions, from its advantageous position, from the remembrance of its ancient inhabitants, and from the Sphachiots who, on the top of their mountains, brave the arrogance of the Turks, and mock all their efforts.

EGYPT gave me the idea of an extreme fecundity, by means of a continued labour, and a wise and intelligent distribution of the waters of the NILE. EGYPT, situated between ASIA and AFRICA, between the seas of EUROPE and those of INDIA, appeared to one of the greatest men of antiquity, and to him, among us, who shews himself still greater, worthy to be the central point of commerce of all nations. The river which gives life to this burning region, as regular in its increase, as the course of the stars and the movement of the universe, is well calculated to astonish even those who know how to observe the progress of Nature, and who are familiarized to her phenomena.

Following the example of all travellers, we did not quit EGYPT without paying to the pyramids our tribute of admiration, without descending into those vast catacombs which the hand of man has not feared to profane.

SYRIA, extremely diversified in its productions, in its climate, and its soil; SYRIA, burning on the sea-shore, temperate on the declivity of the mountains, cool on their summit, is beyond those mountains no more than a steril, uninhabited country. The harbours of TYRE and of SIDON must recall to our mind the activity and industry of the nations which made them the emporium of an extensive commerce; and ALEXANDRETTA would, perhaps, have answered the views of the conqueror by whom it was founded, had not the most unwholesome air in the world been a constant obstacle to it. Why must that interesting region be oppressed by the Turks, partly governed by the most wicked man on earth*, and be, besides, exposed to those dreadful scourges, earthquakes. We beheld the deplorable effects of that which was felt at LATAKIA during our stay in PERSIA.

If the upper part of MESOPOTAMIA is extremely fertile and temperate, the other is arid and burning. The banks of the EUPHRATES, and of the TIGRIS, formerly so peopled, are almost entirely desert, or are no longer at this day frequented but by those tribes of Arab shepherds, whose manners interest us, and whose patriarchal customs and

* DGEZZAR-pacha.

Jaws merit for some moments all the attention of the philosopher. We shall not confound them with those wandering hordes, not very numerous, incessantly in a state of war, and ever ready to carry off flocks and plunder travellers.

BABYLONIA, whose soil is level, whose lands are deep, must have been a granary of abundance, when inhabited by a civilized, industrious, and agricultural people : it is not surprising that astronomy should have taken birth in this country where the eternal clearness of a very pure sky was incessantly inviting man to contemplate the stars and to follow their movements. At present the excessive heat of the sun, increased by the abandonment and nakedness of almost all the lands, obliges man, in summer, to pass the day in subterraneous caves, and the night in the fields or on the roof of the houses. A wind which occasions *asphyxy*, and which we shall distinguish from the burning wind of AFRICA, is sometimes felt in these countries, while clouds of locusts frequently ravage the crops ; and yet the stupid and resigned Mussulman never makes the smallest effort to guard against them.

In crossing the mountains occupied by the Curds, I shall have occasion to make known that warlike, pastoral, and agricultural people, who so greatly resemble the Medes their ancestors. To me they appeared the same, whether I observed them in countries, seemingly subject to the Ottoman dominion, or saw them exposed to the troubles and agitations which desolate their neighbours.

For upwards of sixty years a succession of ambitious men have uninterruptedly devastated PERSIA in order to govern it. The cities the most flourishing under the reign of the Sophis, present every where nothing but ruins : three-fourths of the inhabitants have perished, or fled to the more tranquil and fertile regions of INDOSTAN. A stay of several months at the court, for the accomplishment of a mission of the highest importance, furnished me with an opportunity of observing the great, of studying the common people, and of collecting interesting materials for the history of the intestine wars which have desolated that empire since the death of NADIR SHAH.

From KERMANCHA to CASBIN, from TEREHAN to ISPAHAN, and from that city to AMADAN, PERSIA offered to me only an elevated country, thickly covered with high mountains destitute of wood, and intersected by vast plains, the greater part uncultivated. All this space is cold in winter, but extremely hot in summer : it is, in general, very dry, and far from fertile. Productions are there obtained only by means of water, and it is by dint of labour alone that the inhabitants have succeeded in procuring springs sufficiently copious for all domestic wants and for the irrigation of the lands.

On our return, a terrible war, unexampled in the history of nations, permitted us not to embark in SYRIA ; and, notwithstanding the ardent wish of revisiting our country, notwithstanding the infirmities of BRUGIERE my colleague, and his well-founded aversion to travelling on

horseback, we were under the necessity of returning by land to CONSTANTINOPLE. We repaired to CYPRUS in the most dangerous season of the year. We crossed that island, the wonders of which the Greeks have justly extolled, and of which the Turks have made a place of infection and mortality. We quitted it as quickly as possible, and landed in CARAMANIA.

ASIA MINOR unites the productions of the coldest countries to those of the most temperate. Hot on the borders and in the environs of the sea, cold in the interior, elevated and adorned with wooded mountains, extensive plains, fertile and well watered, ASIA MINOR is, perhaps, the country on earth the most beautiful, the most diversified, and the most capable of supporting a great population. No country has coasts more winding, and harbours more numerous, more safe, and more spacious.

On our arrival at CONSTANTINOPLE, we requested a passport from the agent of the European power which covered the sea with its ships: it was refused to us. This refusal procured us the advantage of seeing ATTICA, the Isthmus of CORINTH, the Gulf of LEPANTO, and the Islands of ITHACA, CEPHALONIA, and CORFU; but it was, perhaps, the cause of the death of my colleague. At ANCONA, BRUGUIÈRE sunk under a disorder occasioned by the fatigues of a long journey, and the sudden grief of having lost a brother in the very country where we had just landed.

BRUGUIÈRE will long be mourned by his friends: he will incessantly be regretted by him who had such frequent occasion to appreciate the qualities of his heart, to admire the resources of his head, and the depth of his knowledge; by him who would have stood so much in need of his assistance for the publication of the interesting articles of natural history resulting from these travels. No one had gone deeper than BRUGUIÈRE into the class so difficult, so numerous, and so diversified of worms, mollusca, and conchylia. He had applied himself betimes to the study of botany, and he was no stranger to the other parts of natural history. It is much to be lamented that an astonishing memory and the greatest facility of expressing himself had made him neglect to note down his observations, and had even, at all times, rendered him very idle with respect to writing.

Although deprived of my coadjutor for the particular publication of the articles of natural history inedited or little known, I shall not the less unremittingly employ myself about them as soon as the historical part shall be in a state of greater forwardness, and a general peace shall again promote, among us, a brisker sale of works of literature.

The taste of BRUGUIÈRE, his sickly state, and his decided predilection for a retired and quiet life, not having permitted him, in the course of these travels, to apply himself to the same kind of study that I did, and to transport himself to all the places where observations

were

were to be made, and facts to be collected, I was obliged to undertake alone that part of the travels which relates to the manners, the customs, and the laws of the nations that we visited. In order to render it more interesting, I neglected not to cast my eye towards our political and commercial relations. Geography, both ancient and modern, geonics, and general physics, must necessarily at the same time have fixed my attention ; and if I have not imparted to my labours all the interest of which they were susceptible, it is because the powers of man, as is well known, always fall far short of his wishes.

I must here express my gratitude to Citizens RUFIN, DANTAN, and FRANQUINI, whom I for a long time consulted at CONSTANTINOPLE, and who were ever ready to reply to my questions relative to the customs and laws of the country. The last two even carried their complaisance so far as to procure me the means of interrogating the best-informed Turks of the capital, and to serve as interpreters between them and me, whenever I wanted them. I am also indebted to some merchants and commissaries of commercial relations, whom I shall consider it my duty to name, for information respecting the trade and productions of the LEVANT ; lastly, I am indebted to Mr. JOHN HE'RATHIUS, an Armenian physician and priest, born at ISPAHAN, for some details relative to the history of the intestine wars of PERSIA.

ESTIMATE

Of the MONIES, WEIGHTS, and MEASURES of which mention is made in this work.

THE *Turkish purse* is worth 500 piastres, nearly 1000 livres or *circa* 42l. sterling.

The *piastre* is divided into 40 parats which may be estimated at 2 livres or 1s. 8d. sterling.

The *parat* is divided into three aspres : it is equivalent to 5 centimes.

The *Turkish piastre* was formerly worth about 3 livres or 2s. 6d. sterling ; but since the successive adulteration of the coin under the last sultans, the piastre is worth little more than 1 livre 50 centimes. We have, however, valued it at 2 livres in imitation of the French merchants.

The *kilo* is a measure of capacity which is employed for grain only. Four kilos and a half make nearly the load of MARSEILLES. A kilo of wheat weighs from eighteen to twenty-two okes, according to the quality of this wheat.

The *oke* is a little more than three pounds two ounces MARSEILLES weight, and a little less than forty ounces and a half PARIS weight, or one thousand two hundred and thirty-nine grams.

The *cantaar* is forty-four okes.

The *peek* is a measure of length. Four are made use of at CONSTANTINOPLE : the smallest, or that employed for silk stuffs, scarcely reaches two feet (65 centimetres).

That for cloths of cotton and wool does not reach two feet one inc' (68 centimetres).

That of the arsenal nearly reaches twenty-six inches (70 centimetres and a half).

The peek of masonry, or the great peek, is two feet four inches three lines, or 76 centimetres and a half *.

* The Paris foot is equal to 12.789 English inches.—*Translator.*

TRAVELS
TO
CONSTANTINOPLE,
TO THE ISLANDS
OF THE ARCHIPELAGO,
AND TO
CRETE.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from Paris.—Stay at Toulon, and at Marseilles.—Departure from this latter city with a convoy bound to the Levant.—Behaviour of the officers of the ship.—Arrival at Constantinople.

AT the end of October 1792, the executive provisional council*, penetrated with the advantages which were likely to result from Travels into the OTTOMAN EMPIRE, EGYPT, and PERSIA, respecting commerce, agriculture, natural history, general physics, geography, the medical art, and even our political relations with TURKEY; persuaded that those interesting countries had not been considered under their true point of view, or had been so but

* The Members of this council were Citizens MONGE, GARAT, ROLAND, LEBRUN, CLAVIERE, and PACHE.

partially, and that there still remained much information for us to acquire respecting them, fixed their choice, for the accomplishment of this object, on citizen BRUGUIÈRE and myself; gave us various instructions, as well verbal as in writing, and urged us to set out as expeditiously as we possibly could, in order to avail ourselves of the *BELETTE* sloop of war, fitted out at TOULON, and ready for sailing.

We hastened to make our preparations, to purchase some instruments of physics and natural history, fit for our observations and researches, and to provide ourselves with a few books, both for our amusement and instruction. We left PARIS on the 7th of November, at eight o'clock in the evening, after having spent the day with a few friends, from whom we have received in our absence, and during the storms of the revolution, the most sincere proofs of attachment. On my return, I have had the satisfaction to learn that, through a thousand dangers, still more from their firmness and courage than from their prudence, they had happily got safe to port, and that the Republic might still reckon them among her best citizens.

Having arrived at AVIGNON, Citizen BRUGUIÈRE took the road of MONTPELLIER, in order to embrace his father, his wife, and his children, and settle some family affairs; I took that of the department of the VAR, in order to embrace my parents at the ARCS, and leave, at SAINT TROPEZ, my wife in the arms of hers. We repaired much about the same time to TOULON, whence we hoped to sail the first fine weather; but for reasons which it is unnecessary to set forth here, the sloop waited in the road a long time for sailing orders, and, after two or three months of expectation, she was ordered to be put out of commission.

Surprised at so long a delay, and sorry to lose our time, or not to employ it in a useful manner, notwithstanding the hopes which were given us from day to day,

day, that we should shortly sail, we wrote to the Minister for foreign affairs, in order to beg him to hasten our departure, or to recall us, if the government no longer conceived our travels useful to the service of the Republic. The Minister answered us that he had just given orders to Citizen GUIs, correspondent for foreign affairs at MARSEILLES, to look out for a neutral vessel whose commander might be willing to take us on board, as well as a ship-builder, two lapidaries, and other different citizens whom the government was sending to CONSTANTINOPLE, conformably to the requests which had been made to it by the reis-effendi and the captain-pacha. We immediately repaired to MARSEILLES, and, till we set sail, we employed ourselves in visiting the manufactories, in procuring information respecting the countries over which we were going to travel, and particularly concerning the trade which this town carried on with the LEVANT.

The war had not yet interrupted our commercial connexions with TURKEY. The MEDITERRANEAN was still free; but, from one moment to the other, the English and the Spaniards, with whom we were already at war, might make their appearance there with forces superior to those which we had to oppose to them. It was our interest to hasten the hour of our departure. Citizen GUIs neglected nothing to find us a neutral vessel; but as his measures were useless, we had recourse to a French Captain of a foreign-built ship, bound to CONSTANTINOPLE, and which was to make part of the convoy that was getting ready at MARSEILLES for the different sea-ports of the LEVANT.

Till then we had flattered ourselves with making this voyage with Citizen SEMONVILLE, appointed for some time past Ambassador of the Republic to the Ottoman PORTE; but an order of the Minister recalled him to PARIS when every thing was ready for his departure, and we were waiting only for a fair wind for sailing.

We left MARSEILLES on the 22d of April 1793, to the number of about twenty-nine sail, convoyed by the *SIBYLLE* frigate, commanded by Citizen RONDEAU. The weather was fine, the wind faint, and the sea tolerably smooth. The next morning we entered the road of TOULON, where we remained till the 29th of April, in order to wait for some straggling vessels.

On the 25th, we had the satisfaction to see a numerous convoy arrive from SMYRNA, SALONICA, and the principal sea-ports of the LEVANT, escorted by the *MODESTE*, a frigate commanded by Captain VENEL. An account had already reached TOULON of the interesting particulars of his engagement with the fleet of the famous captain of a privateer LAMBRO, of whom we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

For two days past the wind had blown with violence from the north-west, when we got under way, under convoy of the *DUQUESNE* of 74 guns, commanded by Captain VENCE, the *SIBYLLE* frigate of 40, the *SÉRIEUSE* frigate, and the *SENSIBLE* and *ROSSIGNOL* sloops of war. The wind held for a few days in the same quarter, so that we soon got sight of the west coast of SARDINIA, and shortly after of that of AFRICA. The sea was so high, that almost all the passengers were confined to their beds. I was very ill till we got off MALTA, and indisposed from time to time by sea-sickness during the whole passage.

Scarcely had we sailed a week from TOULON, when we discovered, on the one side, the south coast of SICILY, and, on the other, Gozzo and MALTA. After having passed through this channel, the weather became finer, the sea was less rough, and the wind lulled, but it continued to blow from the north-west quarter. We saw some birds of passage, such as quails, turtles, come and rest themselves on the ship's rigging. On the twelfth day, we perceived the

Island

Island of SAPIENZA and the mountains of the MORREA, and, before night, we made Cape MATAPAN; on the thirteenth, we found ourselves between CARRIGO and the Island of CRETE. There it was that the *Duquesne* left us in order to return to TOULON, and that Captain RONDEAU took the command of the convoy. The next day, we perceived at a very great distance the mountains of the Island of CRETE, distinguished by seamen, by the name of the *WHITE MOUNTAINS*.

A part of the convoy bound to EGYPT and SYRIA, separated from us under the protection of the *Serieuse*, and took their route to the eastward, while we directed ours to the northward. We had been at sea no more than fifteen days, when we found ourselves, at sun-set, near the entrance of the port of MILO. The wind was to the north: for some time, we thought that we were going to anchor in the harbour of that island; but we discovered our mistake by the signal which was made to ply to windward, till Captain RONDEAU had received, on board his ship, a pilot from the island,

The French government maintained at MILO and at ARGENTIERA, some old seamen to serve as pilots to ships of war which might arrive in these difficult parts. The captains were expressly forbidden to neglect a precaution on which the safety of the ship might depend, in a sea strewn with shoals, stormy in winter, and so narrow as to oblige a navigator sometimes to gain a port or to shelter himself from a gale of wind, in a cove or behind some island. It is necessary, in this case, that long experience should have pointed out to him the passages which he may attempt, the dangers which he ought to avoid, and that he should know, by the lead, all the places where he may cast anchor without exposing himself to destruction.

On the sixteenth day, the wind having shifted to the south, we found ourselves off the Island of SERPHO: we had astern of us the shoal called the FALCONERA, and the Island of SIPHANTO bore from us south-east. In the evening, we passed between the Islands of ZEA and THERMIA; on the seventeenth, we steered for Cape DORO. We soon left astern ANDROS and TINO, which lie so near to each other, that they appeared to us to be confounded; on the eighteenth day, we passed IPSERA, and made MITYLENE. The wind continued to blow lightly from the south quarter, the weather was very fine; in the morning, the ships bound to SMYRNA, under convoy of the *SIBYLLE*, had shaped their course to the eastward; those for SALONICA, under charge of the *SENSIBLE*, had taken their route to the west-north-west: we continued, to the number of three, ours for CONSTANTINOPLE, under convoy of the *ROSSIGNOL*.

Our vessel was so bad a sailer, that till then we had been constantly one of the sternmost of the convoy, and the sloops came frequently to take us in tow. Our officers, the most rude and most ignorant of all the seamen of the south of FRANCE, in such cases, vented a torrent of abuse so low and so disgusting, that we were obliged to shut ourselves up in our cabins, that we might not hear it: besides, both the captain and the chief mate, and especially the supercargo, behaved in the most unbecoming manner to all the passengers that the government was sending to the LEVANT, abusing some, threatening others, putting all to the shortest allowance, though provisions were in sufficient plenty on board, and the sum agreed for our passage and our messing was above the common price.

On the nineteenth day, we passed MITYLENE: we discovered the coast of TROAS and TENEDOS; and in the evening, the cloudy weather making us apprehend some sudden squall, it was agreed, between the captains, to lie to, in order that they might not enter the channel of the DARDANELLES during

the night; but when it was so dark that our ship could not be perceived, our captain ordered the blinds of the great cabin-windows to be shut, and made sail to the northward. Citizen BRUN, ship-builder, as well as the superintendants of the workmen whom he was carrying with him, perceiving the manœuvre contrary to what had been ordered by the captain of the sloop of war, and agreed on between the captains of the ships, wished to make representations. According to custom, they received abuse and threats; the dispute became so serious, that all the passengers presented themselves on deck. For a long time it had been feared that men who shewed so much repugnance to be towed, wished to suffer themselves to be taken by some enemy's ship, or to run their vessel aground: the opportunity had not been favourable till then, but it became so on entering the channel. This fear, which I was far from sharing, and which I think was never well founded, naturally arose from the conduct of the three officers, and might easily take birth in the mind of persons exasperated by abusive and even insulting language, and from the uncomfortable and suffering condition in which we all were. What idea could we have of those men, who made serve for eighteen persons what could barely be sufficient only for ten, and who, after having partaken of our slender repast, made in a hurry, and on deck, sat down to another meal privately in their cabin morning and evening; who availed themselves alone of the greater part of the provisions which they ought to have shared with all, and, among others, with the wife of the ship-builder, pregnant and ill, and with children who suffered much from sea-sickness?

In order to put an end to the dispute, I represented that we had no right to concern ourselves in the management of the ship, but had that of having an eye to our own safety, by observing and drawing up an account in writing of what might happen on board since the captain had disobeyed the orders of the commanding-officer of the convoy. This observation had the effect which I had expected from it; the officers grew mild; they wished to persuade

suade us that they were such good seamen and so well acquainted with the coast as to enter without danger the channel during the night; that, however, since we were afraid, they would lie to and wait for day, as had been agreed. Almost all the passengers were quiet; but the shipwrights, more mistrustful than the others, because being seamen, they were better acquainted with the danger, alternately kept watch till daylight.

On the twentieth day of our departure, the 18th of May, we found ourselves, on rising, between TENEDOS and the coast of TROAS; and, about seven o'clock in the morning, we entered the channel with a rather fresh breeze at east-south-east. The sloop of war lay to, and did not shape her course for SMYRNA till she was certain that we were out of all danger from privateers. Early in the day we passed GALLIPOLI, and in the evening we were becalmed in the sea of MARMORA.

On the twenty-first day, the weather was very fine, and the heat began to be felt; the wind was to the southward, but it was so faint, that we could make no progress on account of the contrary current. We remained the whole day to the north-west of the Island of MARMORA; but, during the night, the wind having blown with somewhat more strength, on the twenty-second day, in the morning, we enjoyed the sight of CONSTANTINOPLE, and, about ten o'clock, we entered the harbour.

CHAPTER II.

Beauty of the site of Constantinople.—Stay in that city.—Detention at Trawnik, of the envoy of the Republic.—Conduct of the Porte.—Arrival of a Russian embassy extraordinary.

IT is difficult to express the various sensations which a traveller experiences at the sight of this great city and of its inhabitants: its elevated position, the mixture of trees, houses, and minarets* which it presents; the entrance of the BOSPHORUS, the harbour and suburbs of GALATA, PERA, and ST. DIMITRI; SCUTARI and the verdant hills which lie behind; the PROPONTIS with its islands; farther on, Mount OLYMPUS covered with snow; every where the variegated and fertile fields of ASIA and EUROPE—all this assemblage exhibits different pictures which captivate and astonish. One cannot tire in admiring the natural beauty of the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE, and in reflecting at the same time on the happy situation of that great city, whose supply of provisions is so expeditiously obtained, whose defence is so easy, and whose harbour is so safe, so commodious, and so extensive.

We hastened to land, and quit a vessel on board of which we had greatly suffered. We learnt with pleasure that the plague was not at CONSTANTINOPLE, and that no uneasiness was felt in that respect. We were conducted to the house of the first deputy of commerce: there, we were informed that Citizen DESCORCHES, envoy extraordinary to the Ottoman PORTE, appointed

* A sort of steeple in the form of a pillar, in which is made a staircase for ascending to a gallery constructed towards the top: it overlooks all the houses, and frequently is more elevated than the mosque itself.

in the place of Citizen SEMONVILLE, who was then no longer expected, was arrived at TRAWNIK, and that he was arrested by the pacha, in consequence of the intrigues of the agents of the courts of ENGLAND, GERMANY, and RUSSIA ; that Citizen FONTON, elected provisional chairman in a meeting of merchants, after the departure of the ambassador CHOISEUL, had given in his resignation nearly a month before ; and that it was by means of the deputies of commerce that our relations with the PORTE were continued.

After having learned what it concerned us to know, the deputies gave us a janizary to conduct us to the suburb of PERA. It is in this suburb that the ambassadors, the agents of foreign courts, and almost all foreigners reside, with the exception of the merchants who are established at GALATA, being by that means nearer to the harbour and to their commercial affairs. PERA is one of the most populous quarters of the city, notwithstanding its distance from the port and from the centre of business, and the lodgings are extremely dear since the rich Armenians came to settle there, in order to be less exposed to exactions and the insults of the Turks, and to enjoy a little more liberty under the protection of the Europeans.

When we entered the city, we passed rapidly from the first impression of astonishment and admiration occasioned by the beauty of the prospects and by the sight of so many different objects, to a second impression of surprise and distaste. We were disagreeably struck to see it so dirty and so ill built : the streets are narrow, and badly paved ; the houses are irregular, mean, and constructed with earth and wood. We were surprised at the silence which reigns every where, at the haughty look and grave carriage of the Mussulmans, at the humble, timid, and servile air of the Jews, Armenians, and even of the Greeks : this contrast is so striking, that the stranger guesses, from the carriage of the man, whether he be a Mussulman

or *Raya* *, without yet knowing the manner of distinguishing them by their manner of dressing their head or their feet.

CONSTANTINOPLE, on our arrival, was no longer such an abode as it had been a few years before. The revolution which was taking place in FRANCE, had caused its effects to be felt even in the LEVANT; it had divided the French, and expelled from their houses gaiety and pleasure: several had already put themselves under foreign protection. The war had just suspended trade, and interrupted our communications with FRANCE. The palace of the ambassador was deserted; those of the other legations were shut against us; almost all the *droguemans* had emigrated; the monks and priests of the country described FRANCE under the most disgusting colours; the Greek women, who before neglected no means to please the French, and to receive their homages, no longer durst give themselves up to them, because they were reprobates whose company was to be prohibited, whose approach even it was necessary to dread.

True it is that the triumph of the priests was very short, and that our successes in EUROPE, by giving the lie to the gross impostures which our enemies took a pleasure in spreading concerning all the French, presented us in a more favourable and truer light. The constraint of the women did not last, and, on our return from PERSIA, CONSTANTINOPLE was an infinitely more agreeable place of residence than on our departure.

The presence of a French agent at the Ottoman PORTE might counteract the projects and derange the hostile measures which several of the European governments had just taken against FRANCE. It was of importance

* Thus are called tributary subjects, such as Greeks, Jews, and Armenians.

to prevent the PORTE from acknowledging the French Republic, and admitting her ambassador : it was necessary to do more, to involve it, if possible, in the coalition formed at PILNITZ, and ruin, at all events, the trade of the French in the LEVANT. Citizen DESCORCHES, envoy extraordinary of the Republic, detained for some time at TRAWNIK, obtained permission to come to CONSTANTINOPLE only as a simple individual. He arrived twenty days after us, under a borrowed name, and also under the modest title of merchant. He did not reside in the French palace, and obtained from the PORTE no public character. Our political and commercial relations with this government continued to take place through the medium of the deputies whom the merchants elected annually for the affairs relative to their commerce.

It appears that, at this epoch, the PORTE, faithful to its principles, was not willing to take a part in what was passing in EUROPE, and that it was not sorry that the christians, whom it hates and despises, should make war with each other ; it temporized, according to its custom, and waited events. The people saw, with pleasure, war begun between FRANCE, GERMANY, and RUSSIA ; they hoped, by this means, to retake the CRIMEA from the Russians, and thence be revenged for their defeats. It was perceived in all the sea-ports of the LEVANT, that if the government no longer protected the French with the same warmth, the people, on their side, were better disposed towards them.

In the mean time an embassy extraordinary on the part of RUSSIA was emphatically announced : already the Greeks of PERA were calculating the immense profits which they were going to make. The women of intrigue were to find lovers who would indemnify them for the privation of the French ; every miss proposed, for her own share, to find in this suite a husband :

husband; the papas * saw in it new penitents: houses were hired and furnished beforehand: the handsomest dresses, the most beautiful attire issued from the wardrobe to be repaired. People, when they met, complimented each other on this grand embassy: they expressed wishes for its expeditious and happy arrival; all were in the most lively impatience.

We then lodged, as well as several other foreigners, at the house of a French traiteur, whose wife was a Greek woman. He was a fool and a drunkard. Led away by his wife, as foolish as mischievous, he put himself under the protection of RUSSIA, and signified to us that we must lay aside our three-coloured cockade, or leave his house. "Such are," added he, "the orders which I have received from my new ambassador." We made some attempts to reclaim a man hurried away, in spite of himself, into an inconsiderate measure. We observed to him that he turned out at once ten or twelve persons who occupied his lodgings, who promoted his cookery, and yielded him a considerable profit: every thing was useless. "The Russians," said his wife to us disdainfully, "will certainly contrive to make us amends for this loss." We left the house immediately, and went to occupy the lodging of the *Jeunes-de-Langue* †, which was vacant from their desertion.

After having been a long time expected, the embassy arrived: it was numerous and splendid. The delirium of the Greeks was complete, and was prolonged for some days; but ere long they perceived that they had deceived themselves by an illusion; they soon found that the Russian officer had no great pecuniary means, and that the soldier was on his ration. Besides, there appeared very seasonably a friendly warning of the general-ambassador, by which he gave notice that he would not pay the debts of his officers, and that every one was to look to himself.

* Greek priests.

† Pupils intended for drogumans.

The French who were at CONSTANTINOPLE, found it necessary, in these circumstances, to conduct themselves with prudence, and, nevertheless, to display all their courage. Hatred against those who had remained faithful to their country, had arrived to such a pitch that the servants of the ambassador, a few soldiers, and the greater part of the Russian officers insulted them in the streets, and snatched from them the three-coloured cockade. A great number of complaints were made, on this subject, to the PORTE, through the medium of Citizen DESCORCHES, without it appearing to wish to apply any remedy. The patience of the French lasted for some time, but at length it had a period; and, though there were not then two hundred, including the merchants and their clerks, people commonly very peaceable, and though the embassy was composed of eight hundred persons, the greater number resolved to arm themselves, and to repel by force every insult that should be offered to them. Two or three pistols loaded only with powder, discharged opportunely at the officers, the proposal made to those who displayed most boldness, to draw their sword, soon put a stop to every insult, and produced an order from the general-ambassador not to provoke any longer men so hasty and so petulant.

A little time after, there arrived a German dancer, an excellent horseman, who thought to make a fortune among the Turks, by opening, at the extremity of the street of PERA, a sort of amphitheatre. This project appeared inconsiderate to those who were acquainted with Oriental manners, and the quick and terrible effects of the plague. They were persuaded that it would not succeed; but they little expected that the German internuncio would arrogate to himself the police of this public place, and that he would forbid his *protégé* to admit there any individual wearing the three-coloured cockade. The pleasantries to which this ridiculous conduct gave rise, soon induced the internuncio to disavow it. The dancer, on his side, frightened at the smallness of the first receipts, publicly made *amende honorable*, and neglected no

means of repairing the losses which his submission to the orders that he had received had at first occasioned him.

What contributed, on the one hand, to the insolence of some agents of CATHERINE and FRANCIS, and, on the other, to the weak and wavering conduct of the PORTE, was that TOULON had just been delivered up to the English, and that people were persuaded that the Jacobins (thus it is that almost all the French were at that time distinguished) would soon be punished for their audacity. Fortunately TOULON was retaken, and then the PORTE appeared to wish to protect us a little more effectually.

If the Russians and the Germans of those two legations conducted themselves, at that period, with the greatest indecorum towards us, and in a manner little worthy of the rank which they held, it must be confessed that this was not the case with the greater part of the other legations ; and, were we not afraid of committing them with their government, we might quote a great number of persons who beheld with pleasure the efforts which the French were making to level the throne, and give themselves a free and constituted government.

CHAPTER III.

Character of the Mussulmans, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.—Population of Constantinople.—Means of existence of its inhabitants.

CONSTANTINOPLE affords a mixture of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans, whence results a very great diversity in manners, religion, and language. The Turks are there much more numerous than the others, and are spread throughout the whole extent of the city and suburbs. The Greeks form nearly one sixth of the population; they have a quarter situated towards the head of the harbour, distinguished by the Greek name of *fanaraki* or *fanal*. A great number, however, inhabit PERA and GALATA, and live among the Franks*. The Armenians are somewhat less numerous than the Greeks: they reside in the interior of the city, and in the suburbs; but the greater part of the rich, as we have before said, have some time since come to inhabit PERA, and establish themselves among the Franks, yet without mixing with them. The Jews are the least numerous: they live in the heart of the city. A few of them are established at PERA and GALATA, and serve as brokers to the merchants.

The ambassadors and agents of foreign powers at the Ottoman PORTE, and the Europeans whom commerce attracts to CONSTANTINOPLE, frequently form a population of upwards of two thousand persons. Almost all the seamen remain on board their ships. The merchants are settled at GALATA, in order to be more within reach of the harbour and the city; but the reason

* This is the name given by the Turks indiscriminately to all Europeans.

which

which most determines them to inhabit that quarter, is that they occupy houses built in masonry ; that they have, for their goods, store-houses substantially constructed ; that all the windows have copper-shutters ; in a word, that they have neglected nothing for the safety of their persons and for the protection of their property from the fires to which this city is incessantly exposed.

There are none but Mussulmans, whether Turks or Arabs, who hold the places or employments of the government, the dignities of the empire, and who are received among the janizaries and into the other military corps, with the exception of the navy alone, in which the greater part of the sailors are Greeks, as we shall mention elsewhere more in detail. Some carry on an extensive commerce ; a greater number give themselves up to retail trade, and to the different mechanic arts, to the study of the laws and of religion, and to the art of writing.

The Mussulmans have, in general, little education, a great deal of fanaticism, and a ridiculous pride. The study of those who apply themselves to literature and to the sciences, relates to the Koran and to the interpretations which various Mussulman authors have given of it, to the laws which have emanated from it, and to the sentences of the civilians. They apply themselves to poetry, to the study of the Persian and Arabic, and to astrology. Few among them have any smattering of mathematics and astronomy. Their physic consists in some practices transmitted from father to son. They have no idea of natural history, physics, geography, naval affairs, and military tactics. They are acquainted with history only as far as it relates to them, and they are, with respect to other nations, and even with respect to those who have preceded them on the territory which they occupy, in the most complete ignorance. Almost all the arts are in a state of infancy, or are unknown among

them, if we except dying, the manufacture of various cloths, and that of sword and knife blades.

For a long time past the Europeans, and especially the French, have been desirous to transmit to them knowledge in some of the useful arts, and they have succeeded but imperfectly, because national pride, ignorance, and fanaticism oppose the measure. It is the French who have taught them to cast cannon and mortars, to build ships, to make muskets, bayonets, and gun-carriages, to work up iron and even silver, and to manufacture soap. National good-will had arrived to such a pitch that we should soon have taught them to dispense with our manufactures. The war which has just been declared, will, doubtless, bring about a new order of things. The conduct of the Turkish government and of individuals, in regard to the agents of the Republic and of the merchants settled among them, will unquestionably point out what is the most suitable manner of treating in future with this anti-social nation.

The Greeks are gay, witty, and cunning: they exercise various trades, carry on some commerce, apply themselves to maritime affairs, visit the different towns of the coast, and never travel far inland, except into European TURKEY. They delight in music and dancing. In the rest of the empire, they give themselves up to agriculture with a tolerable degree of intelligence. The rich are well informed, supple, and very intriguing; they study languages, and spare nothing to be employed as physicians, as drogue-men, or as men of business by the Turks who hold the first places of the empire. The ancient families court the honour of furnishing the first drogue-man of the PORTE, and of obtaining the sovereignty of WALACHIA and MOLDAVIA, notwithstanding the peril attached to those eminent places.

They are, in general, superstitious, timid, and exact observers of fasts and lents. The priests are very numerous, and exhibit manners somewhat austere.

The

The superior clergy are also well informed and tolerably rich: the rectors and other ecclesiastics are poor and very ignorant.

The Armenians are all traders; in the Ottoman Empire, it is they who are engaged in the greatest traffic, and who carry it on with the most intelligence. They are patient, economical, and indefatigable; they travel into the interior of ASIA and into INDIA; they have store-houses and correspondents every where. The greater part of them exercise mechanic arts; they are bankers, contractors, and men of business of the pachas or other great personages. They are reproached with sparing no means of enriching themselves, and of cheating, when they have an opportunity, in the quality of merchandise. Nevertheless, in endeavouring to gain the most they possibly can, they seldom fail in their engagements, and are punctual in the performance of their promises.

Austere in their manners, exact observers of the precepts of their religion, ignorant and superstitious, they need only education and a government less oppressive and more just than that of the Turks, to become a very estimable people.

The Jews present themselves here under colours far more unfavourable than in EUROPE. More ignorant, more poor, more fanatic, they give themselves up to every kind of trade and to all professions, even the very lowest. Few among them are physicians, droguemans, or men of business: not one is a cultivator. All trade to them is good if it yield a profit, however trifling it may be. The rich practise usury, lend money on pledges at an interest of two or three per cent. by the month, and even more according to circumstances. They are brokers, bankers, or traders. The Turkish custom-house officers make use of them for valuing goods and collecting the duties.

As austere in their manners as the Armenians, as greedy after gain, less delicate, less honest when they deal with a man of a different religion, the Jews live among each other, occupy remote quarters, and tremble at the sight of a Mussulman. Their anti-social religion will always separate them from other nations, and will insulate them, in a town, from the other inhabitants, as long as they shall be sufficiently ignorant to believe the laws of their legislator, and the puerile precepts of their rabbis, emanated from the Divinity.

The inhabitants of this great city, including those of the suburbs of PERA, GALATA, ST. DIMITRI, those of SCUTARI, and of all the villages situated on the BOSPHORUS, and in the environs, may be estimated at upwards of five hundred thousand, according to the daily consumption of flour that is there made. As no registers of births or deaths are kept in the Ottoman Empire, one can never correctly ascertain the population of the towns of TURKEY, where the manners and the mode of life of the inhabitants are so different from those of the Europeans, where the women are almost always shut up, and where the rich men go out of their houses as seldom as possible; but, in CONSTANTINOPLE, the government causing a distribution to be made of the flour and corn which are consumed in the city and its environs, and this distribution being well known*, we can carry the population to five hundred thousand inhabitants, supposing that the men, women, and children eat a pound and a half of flour per day. If the reader observe that, in all the EAST, much less meat is eaten than in the north of EUROPE, but that a much greater consumption is there made of bread, rice, pastry, milk,

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* There are distributed about fifteen thousand kilos of corn per day, which are equivalent to three thousand one hundred and sixty-four septiers of *Paris*. The kilo weighs from eighteen to twenty-two oke, according to the quality of the corn. The oke is nearly equal to forty ounces and a half.

and

and fruit, he will judge that the calculation which we present is tolerably just. True it is that we must take into the account the introduction of some thousands of quintals of smuggled flour and corn, per day, which takes place notwithstanding the vigilance of the government *; but this article is not sufficiently important to produce a difference of twenty thousand inhabitants †.

When we represent to ourselves in EUROPE a city like CONSTANTINOPLE, we are, doubtless, inclined to imagine that the means of existence there are similar to those of the great cities which we inhabit: we are persuaded that a great number of inhabitants possess landed property from which they derive an annual income, and that all the others live by their industry. We imagine that we see the environs of the city perfectly well cultivated, embellished with mansions, country-houses, and adorned with farms and gardens. We figure to ourselves that a city so happily situated affords public walks and places of recreation; in a word, we imagine that CONSTANTINOPLE resembles, in many respects, all the great cities of EUROPE.

If we cast our eyes on the immense population of CONSTANTINOPLE, we shall, perhaps, be astonished to see that almost all the inhabitants of that great city derive their means of existence from the Grand Signior, from the

* Private persons are forbidden to sell or distribute corn or flour.

† ETON, in his *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, (2d edition, page 282) estimating the population of CONSTANTINOPLE, and taking the daily consumption of flour made in that city as the basis of his calculation, gives the following result. — *Translator*.

“ In CONSTANTINOPLE and its environs there are daily consumed from nine to eleven thousand kilos of corn. Experience has proved, that one person consumes nine kilos a year, one with another. One kilo of wheat is twenty-two okes, which renders eighteen okes of flour, of which they make twenty-seven okes of bread, as their bread is very moist, made into flat cakes seemingly half baked. An oke is about two pounds and three quarters English avoirdupois weight. According to this calculation, the medium number of inhabitants would be 426,000 souls.”

great employments of the government, from hiring themselves as servants, or from some private industry; that a great part of the money of the empire is swallowed up in the capital by means of imposts, custom-house duties, and the right of succession which the sovereign preserves over all his agents; by the confiscations in which he indulges, by the sale of all employments, of all places and all dignities, military, administrative, judicial, and religious; by the great revenues enjoyed by the mosques and the principal officers of the crown; lastly, by the voluntary or forced presents which every man in place annually makes to those who protect him with the PORTE, support and defend him, as well as to the men of business who watch over his interest, apprise him of all the changes which happen, and of all the dangers by which he is threatened.

Almost all the revenues of the royal treasury are consumed in CONSTANTINOPLE, because there it is that the national establishments are, and that, in the provinces, there neither are armies, navy, arsenals, nor fortresses kept up at the expense of the Grand Signior. The governors, pachas, mutselims or walwodes, very far from deriving emoluments from the PORTE, pour, on the contrary, annually into the treasury a sum more or less considerable, according to the extent and the nature of their government. The molhas, the cadis distribute justice for a duty of ten per cent. and various escheats. The janizaries and other soldiers receive a very moderate daily pay, taken from the revenues of the province: they equip themselves at their own expense, and join their colours in time of war, without the Grand Signior remitting the smallest sum of money for that purpose. The officers or agas have patrimonies for life, by means of which they are bound, on the first summons, to repair to the army, and to take with them, and at their cost, a certain number of soldiers.

All the establishments relating to the navy are at CONSTANTINOPLE. Ships of war are not repaired, equipped, and manned in any other port. It is there that ships are chiefly built. True it is that, at this moment, there are dock-yards at SINOPE, at the head of the Gulf of MUNDANIA, in the DARDANELLES, at MITYLENE and at RHODES, because those countries are within reach of the timber for ship-building; but the sum of money which issues from the capital, for this object, is by no means considerable, and is but a temporary remittance; besides, the pachas most frequently provide for these expenses.

The fortresses are kept up by the pachas on whose territories they are situated; accordingly, they are almost all in bad condition: the greater part of them even are falling into ruins. The Grand Signior, in this respect, is easily deceived, because he receives annually an account of expenses by which he is imposed on: and if the suspicion of infidelity or complaints induced him to send any one to the spot to verify the facts, a sum of money given by the pacha would almost always be sufficient for obtaining a favourable report; but were the latter displaced, or even were his head cut off, the successor would not, on that account, put the fortress into better condition; he would at first make a few unimportant repairs, and would interrupt them as soon as he had taken the means fit for insuring his impunity.

All the coin of TURKEY, if we except CAIRO, is struck at CONSTANTINOPLE, and yields for the moment a considerable revenue to the Grand Signior, because he has adulterated it to such a degree that it has not half of the value of that of the sultans his predecessors, and because he has caused it to be circulated for a value equal to that which it had before. Foreign coin has, indeed, greatly increased; but it is not yet at the price at which it ought to arrive, because the balance of trade is to the advantage of this empire. This is not the case with INDIA, as I shall say in another place, where TURKEY has
scarcely

scarcely any thing to furnish. None but old coin is received there, and that of VENICE, HUNGARY, and SPAIN is still preferred, as most pure.

According to an approximate estimate, we may carry to two hundred millions of our livres all the money poured annually into CONSTANTINOPLE from the different towns and provinces of the empire. It appears that the revenue of the PORTE and of the Grand Signior *, including the produce of the coining of specie, is about one hundred and fifty millions of our money †: the presents given to the men in place, the fees of men of business, the revenue of the mosques, that of the great, all these exceed not fifty millions. This calculation gives us upwards of three hundred livres per year for the maintenance of each individual; which is fully sufficient. I observe that the industry of CONSTANTINOPLE is limited almost entirely to the wants of the inhabitants, and that the principal trade which is there carried on, relates only to the consumption of the city. The carrying-trade is too inconsiderable to draw from abroad a sum of money of any importance.

It is seen, by what we have just said, that this city is, at the present moment, indebted for its great population only to the presence of the sovereign, to the expenses of his palace, and to all the public establishments which are there fixed. But if CONSTANTINOPLE profited at the same time of the advantages given it by its happy position between the BLACK SEA and the MEDITERRANEAN, between EUROPE and ASIA; if it turned to account the extent, the safety, and the convenience of its harbour, so suitable for favouring a great trade; if industry assumed a greater activity; if the objects of art were scattered throughout the whole empire and even beyond it; if the inhabitants sought in the culture of the lands the subsistence which they want and the aliment of a part of the manufactories; in short, if they succeeded in putting a

* The revenue of the State is distinct from that of the Sultan.

† We shall give some details on this subject, in the course of these travels.

stop to the plague, that most destructive scourge of the human species, it is not to be doubted that this city would soon become of an immense extent and of a population perhaps too considerable.

The richest private individuals of the empire do not come hither to spend their income in effeminacy and idleness, or dissipate their fortunes in the hazards of play, in the pleasures of love, or in the luxury of the table. The agas or lords remain on their estates in order to preserve them, defend them, and make the most of them. The pachas cannot quit their government without an order of the sovereign. The molhas and the cadis exercise justice in the towns whither they have received orders to repair: both the one and the other come to intrigue at CONSTANTINOPLE only when they are displaced.

Most frequently they avoid even the too severe looks of the government: they have established agents, men of business who intrigue for them, who exculpate them with money, who level difficulties with money, and who procure them advancement with money. Here all dignities are sold to the highest bidder; all employments are put up to auction; no lucrative place is obtained without a present more or less considerable.

There is a class of men who have no other profession ~~than~~ that of lending, at an exorbitant interest, to the ambitious who could not obtain places without this means; to the extortioners who wish to cause their crimes to be forgotten and to maintain themselves in their places, to those whom a powerful enemy would wish to destroy, and to those, in short, who want, by a great and speedy sacrifice, to redeem their head threatened by the sword of the law or by the will of the sultan.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the seraglio of the Grand Signior.—Of the eunuchs, pages, gardeners, mutes, dwarfs, and capidgis.

THE number of persons attached to the Grand Signior, to his palace, and to his different country-houses, is extremely considerable, and their maintenance very expensive; it may even be said that, in this respect, no sovereign in EUROPE can be compared to him from the interior luxury of the seraglio, the munificence which he there displays, and perhaps even from the riches which are there contained.

The law of MAHOMET allows, as is well known, every Mussulman, not only four legitimate wives; but it also authorizes him to take for concubines such a number of slaves as he pleases, and as his situation or his riches enable him to maintain. The Grand Signior, from a sentiment of pride or from political motives, must not marry like his subjects; he thinks himself too much above the rest of mankind to involve himself with a woman by the ties of marriage, and place her, in some measure, in the same rank as himself. He has an indeterminate number of female slaves destined to his pleasures and to give him successors. But among this great number, seven of them only, after having enjoyed more or less the favours of the sultan, are raised to a rank above the others: they become his favourites: it is they who participate most commonly in his pleasures, and who sometimes acquire no small degree of influence over public affairs. They are distinguished by the name of *Ka-deun* *.

* The *n* at the end of the word is pronounced.

The slave who becomes the mother of a boy is called *Hasske*: she has a house and slaves; she obtains a distinguished rank; she is treated with the greatest respect; she enjoys a sort of liberty in the interior of the harem*; in a word, she approaches the sultan as often as she wishes. But if her son happen to die, she returns among the *Kadeuns* if she be not sent to the old seraglio.

The other slaves are called *Odaliks*, from the word *Oda*, which signifies chamber†. If one of them be pregnant, she is treated with a great deal of attention; the eunuchs serve her with the greatest respect when the sultan has as yet no male children; she finds herself, on the contrary, in a very critical situation when he has any by a slave in favour. She is fortunate then if she escape by miscarrying or seeing the being that she has just brought into the world smothered at its birth. For one of these odaliks to become *kadeun*, an honour extremely in request and ardently wished for by all, it is necessary that the Grand Signior should send one of the seven favourites to the old seraglio, the place of exile for his women who have misbehaved or have had the misfortune to displease.

To the old seraglio‡ are likewise sent all the wives of the sultan who has just died or has been deposed; they are there fed and maintained with some luxury, and served with much attention; but they can no longer go out of this place of retirement: it would not be decent in the eyes of the Mussulmans, that a slave, supposed to have enjoyed the favours of a sultan, should pass into the arms of another man. There is only the mother of the new sultan, called *Validai-Sultana*, who has her liberty, a palace, and revenues. The new harem is soon replenished, because traders come from all quarters to

* *Harem* or sacred place, prohibited place: this is the lodging of the women, distinct from that of the men, among all the Muhometans.

† The *Odaliks* are distributed by chambers.

‡ *Eski serai*: it was constructed by MAHOMET II.

offer young slaves, and the pachas and the great are eager to present beauties capable of fixing the attention of the sovereign; they hope by that means to obtain instantly his good graces, and place about his person women who may one day be useful to them.

Travellers have improperly called sultanas the wives of the Grand Signior: this name is given in TURKEY only to the princesses of the blood, daughters of a sultan, or, as we have said before, to the mother of him who occupies the throne. The daughters of the sultanas no longer bear any other name but that of *Kanoun-Sultana*.

It is very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to learn exactly the manner in which the female slaves are treated in the harem of the Grand Signior: never has the eye of the observer penetrated into this abode of hatred, jealousy, and pride; into this abode where pleasure and love have so seldom resided. But, according to the account of the women whose profession calls them thither, the reader may represent to himself three or four hundred black eunuchs, malicious, peevish, tormented by their impotence, cursing their nullity, endeavouring to counteract the female slaves intrusted to their charge; then a considerable number of young women whose hearts would willingly expand, whose senses are moved at the idea of the pleasures which they wish in vain to know, jealous of the happiness which they are persuaded that their rivals enjoy, cursing the overseers who perplex them, solely taken up with their toilet, with their dress, and with all the nonsense which idleness and ignorance can suggest to them; seeking, rather from vanity than from love, every means of pleasing a master too frequently disdainful. We may represent to ourselves, in short, a sultan young or old, mastered by ridiculous prejudices, without delicacy, often whimsical or capricious, alone in the midst of five or six hundred women all equally beautiful, in whom he gives birth to desires which he is unable to gratify, who enjoys with them no pleasures but such as
are

are too easy and without prelude, in which the heart has no share, and we shall have a true idea of what passes in the harem of the Grand Signior.

The charge of the women is intrusted only to black eunuchs, whose mutilation is such, that there remains no trace of their sex. Oriental jealousy has very rightly judged that such creatures were rather capable of inspiring sentiments of hatred and contempt, than those of affection and friendship, which would not have failed to take birth if the charge of the harem had been intrusted to women. It was not enough to condemn these unfortunate females to long privations, never to let them know of love only what was to excite in them desires, it was even necessary to deprive them of the consolation of opening their heart in the bosom of friendship. *

The chief of the black eunuchs, called *Kişlar-Aga*, is one of the greatest personages of the empire : he it is who carries to the female slaves the will of his master ; he it is who announces to them the happiness which they have to please him *. Independently of the authority which he exercises in the harem, he has the superintendence of all the imperial mosques ; he is charged with the general administration of all the pious foundations which relate to them ; he has the pre-eminence over the chief of the white eunuchs, and, what is more flattering to a slave, he more frequently approaches his master, and more commonly enjoys his confidence. His income is very considerable.

The *Khafne-Vekili* is the second eunuch of the seraglio : he replaces the *Kişlar-Aga* when he dies or is turned out of office. He has the general administration of the interior imperial treasure, which must be distinguished from the private treasure of the Grand Signior, administered by the *Khaf-nadar-Aga*, one of the pages of confidence. There are some other eunuchs raised in dignity, such as he who belongs to the queen-mother, he to whom the

* All that is said respecting the handkerchief presented or thrown to the female slave who pleases the sultan, is false, and scarcely deserves to figure in a romance.

care of the princes is intrusted, those who serve the royal mosque of the sultana *Validai*, whither the slaves of the Grand Signior go to say their prayers; he who has the particular superintendence of the apartment of the *Hasséeke*, and a few others whose functions are less important.

The white eunuchs do not approach the women: they are employed out of the harem, and in the particular service of the sultan. They have the charge of the gates of the seraglio; they superintend and instruct the pages. Their chief is called *Capou-Agaffi*.

About the middle of the street of PERA, is remarked a considerable palace in which a great number of young lads are lodged, boarded and maintained at the expense of the State: they are called *Ichoglans*. They are destined to be pages to the sultan and to occupy the principal charges of the court. *Codjas* or preceptors come every day to teach them Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, and instruct them in writing and in the precepts of the Koran. They are all exercised in throwing the djerid*, in riding on horseback, and in handling the sabre with dexterity: they are at the same time accustomed to the functions which they are to discharge about the person of the sovereign. A great number of them are likewise brought up in the interior of the seraglio. The white eunuchs, to whose care they are intrusted, treat them with the greatest severity, and punish them rigorously for the smallest fault that they commit. They are clothed in white, and fed with temperance. They are children of christians taken in war, or purchased in GEORGIA and CIRCASSIA: some of them come from various frontiers of the empire and from the States of BARBARY: sons of Mussulmans are also admitted there, since the Turks no longer carry on war against the christians with as many advantages as they did formerly.

* A light stick, which supplies the place of the Arabic lance in mock-fights.

The Ichlogans who have well profited by their studies, those who display the most capacity and intelligence, are the first admitted among the pages; they successively fill the vacant places, and occupy in their turn the greatest offices of the seraglio. They frequently receive very lucrative commissions from the sovereign, and rich presents from those for whom they solicit and obtain employments.

Among the young people taken in war, purchased or brought from all quarters, the greater number, under the name of *Adjem-Oglan*, are intended for the meaner employments of the seraglio: porters, wood-cutters, cooks, butchers, water-carriers are made of them; in a word, servants of every sort: there are seldom among them sons of Mussulmans. When their number is considerable, some of them have been turned over among the gardeners.

The *Bostangees* or gardeners are about ten thousand in number; their chief is called *Bostangee-Bachi*; his power is very extensive. He has not only the absolute command over all the palaces and gardens of the Grand Signior; but he is, besides, at the head of the police of the environs of the capital and of the channel, as far as the mouth of the BLACK SEA. He represses debauchery, and punishes theft, and other excesses which are committed. He steers the caïque of the Grand Signior when he goes on the water, and he accompanies him every where on horseback when he goes out in state. This officer is of the number of the four *rickab agaleri* or officers of the court, obliged to accompany his highness wherever he goes in ceremony. The other three are called *buyuk imbrohor*, or great equerry, *kurchuk imbrohor*, or little equerry, and *capidjilar kiayassî*, or great chamberlain.

The bostangees are generally sons of Mussulmans; they receive a tolerably good pay, and are almost all married. They row with the greatest dexterity

terity the caïques of the sultan; they superintend his gardens and his palaces, and spread themselves over the villages and country-places of the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE, and of the channel, in order to exercise there an active and salutary superintendence. Established under the reign of the first emperors, they were for a long time the nursery of the best soldiers. Those among them who displayed the most courage, the most strength, and above all the most fanaticism, were turned over among the janizaries.

According to oriental manners, there are no visits, no secret conferences, without the servants or slaves being present: politeness requires that coffee should be brought, that from time to time a pipe, filled and lighted, should be presented; and, according to the rank and dignity of the stranger, sherbet, essences, and perfumes should be offered him. Even when a Mussulman is alone, he must now and then have a pipe and some coffee. The want of being continually waited on has, no doubt, suggested to the Turks the idea of being attended by the deaf and dumb, when they have occasion to treat of any important affair. The sultan has, in his palace, forty deaf and dumb persons who wait on him in conjunction with his pages. Most of the great have some also; but there is, in this respect, a great deal of roguery of which men too credulous and too unguarded may be the dupe. I frequently saw at the house of Citizen DESCORCHES, during the first days of his arrival, a man who was reckoned deaf and dumb, with whom conversation was carried on in Turkish, in writing, and who communicated the intrigues of the court and the anecdotes of the town. He lent too attentive an ear to all the discourse which was held, for any person not to be soon persuaded that he knew more than one language, and that his ears served him tolerably well. When he thought himself unmasked, he ceased to act a part no longer useful.

It has often been repeated, improperly, that mutes were sometimes commissioned to go and strangle the victims that the sultan devoted to death: it

it is generally the *capidgis-bachis*, of whom we shall speak presently, that discharge those functions, either in the capital, or in the provinces.

The Grand Signior likewise maintains a tolerably great number of dwarfs, as little calculated to serve as to amuse him. When these shrimps are at the same time deaf and dumb, their consequence increases, and they are treated with much greater respect.

The *capidgis* or porters, whose number is rather considerable, keep watch at the outer gates of the palace. They must not be confounded with the *capidgis-bachis*, a sort of chamberlains, whose place is honourable and lucrative, and who are charged to execute the orders which they receive from the sultan, those, for example, to cut off the head of a rebel or extortioner, to carry the news of the appointment to a government, to go and collect the successions of the great officers of the empire, &c. Their chief, always taken from this class, is called *mir-alem*. The *capidgis-bachis* are sometimes raised to the dignity of pacha with two tails, and go in that quality to govern the province which is allotted them.

CHAPTER V.

Of the caïques.—Of the captain-pacha.—Of the Turkish navy.—Of the galiond-gis.—Advantages of the harbour of Constantinople.

A SIGHT really beautiful, and which one cannot sufficiently admire from the French palace, and from all the elevated places whence the eye looks down on the harbour and over the Sea of MARMORA, is the arrival and departure of the ships and large boats coming in and going out under full sail, and the continual movement of a great number of caïques generally manned by two or three rowers, incessantly crossing the harbour in every direction, and proceeding with celerity to all the villages of the BOSPHORUS, to SCUTARI, to PRINCES' Islands, and to every place in the environs. These caïques, thus named in the country, are long narrow boats, extremely light, equipped with one, two, or three pairs of oars, seldom with four. They carry one or two, and even three sails, which are set only in fine weather, or when the wind is not too strong. These boats are not provided with ballast, and are so buoyant, that a breeze rather stiff would overset them, if the boatman did not take care to let go the sheet on the smallest danger, and to throw the boat up in the wind by shifting the helm. The number of these caïques is so considerable, and they divide the water with such velocity, that sometimes all the skill of the rowers cannot prevent them from running foul of each other, and one of the two from being overset, especially when the weather is bad; for then the rowers do not form a sufficiently-correct judgment of the effect of the wind on a boat so light, and which presents a great deal of surface out of the water. In such cases, it is proper to know how to swim and to be able to gain the shore: assistance is seldom given to those to whom such

a misfortune happens, because there would be too much danger for him who would wish to save one of the unfortunate beings; he would run the risk of being himself overfet in wishing to take the other man into his boat.

The construction of these caïques leaves nothing to be wished for in point of the elegance of their form and the swiftness of their sailing. Two hours are sufficient, with even a light breeze, to sail from CONSTANTINOPLE to PRINCES' Islands, distant from ten to twelve miles; and notwithstanding the contrary wind and current, three rowers never take more time for reaching BUYUK-DÉRÉ, distant fifteen miles.

The caïques belonging to the sultan are remarkable for their size, their gilding, their elegance, and the number and dexterity of the rowers: they carry fourteen pairs of oars, and are manned by twenty-eight bostangees dressed in white: the bostangee-bachi, as we have before said, is the cockswain or steersman. The caïque of the grand visir has twelve pairs of oars; that of the principal officers of the PORTE, and of the ambassadors of foreign powers have seven pairs. In these large caïques one man is necessarily required for each oar; while those of private persons are sufficiently narrow for a single man to make use of two oars at a time.

The sultan seldom goes on the water in winter; but, in the summer, he frequently repairs to the different palaces which he has on the channel of the BLACK SEA, or to the palace of the fresh waters, situated two leagues from the city, in the narrow valley watered by the little river which empties itself into the head of the harbour, and whose tranquil stream permits the caïques to ascend it to that distance. The cannon never fails to announce the departure and the arrival of the sultan: any one may easily procure himself the satisfaction of seeing his highness pass. His caïque is distinguished by a beautiful

crimson awning, spread towards the stern. Various *caïques* of the same size, in which are the principal officers, come next; he is preceded and followed by a great number of others.

Before we enter into any details on the subject of the Turkish navy, we think it our duty to say a word of the *capitan-pacha*, whose zeal and activity have never relaxed since he has commanded the naval forces of the Ottoman Empire, and has been at the head of all the maritime establishments. He enjoys with SELIM III. an influence which time seems to increase and strengthen. In that happy age when the heart is still in all its purity, and at the time when the cruel mistrust of the sovereign held as prisoner the heir of the empire, HUSSEIN, born in CIRCESSIA, was a slave to young SELIM; he soon became the flatterer of all his tastes, the confidant of his heart, and his intimate friend. The connexions of infancy are subject to experience changes and vicissitudes resulting from the caprices of that age; but reason almost always consolidates what a mutual inclination has begun: the friends of youth are reciprocally attached for the remainder of life.

A fortunate circumstance happened to strengthen the Grand Signior's attachment to the captain-pacha. The intrigues of the *seraglio*, it is said, threatened the life of SELIM, before he had arrived at the throne of his ancestors: a hint given him by a slave of the *seraglio*, sister to HUSSEIN, saved him from destruction. Since then his gratitude has been unbounded; SELIM, scarcely seated on the throne, married the daughter of ABDUL HAMID to HUSSEIN, and loaded him with favours: he made him superintendant of the navy, and High Admiral. The latter, brought up in the *seraglio*, without knowledge and without study, appointed to one of the first places of the empire, and master of all the maritime forces, was a moment embarrassed, when he saw about him no man sufficiently intelligent to enlighten him and guide his
steps;

steps; but presently, in imitation of his predecessor, he sent for French builders and shipwrights to direct the works of the arsenal, and push on with activity the vessels which he resolved to construct.

HASSAN-pacha, his predecessor, a greater man than he, but full as ignorant, frequently counteracted in his projects, because he had not, like the latter, the entire confidence of his master, had caused to be built as many ships as the finances of the State and circumstances would allow. He had called in a French builder, named *LEROI*, and had permitted him to give to the Turkish ships the European form which they had not before. The present captain-pacha had only to follow the steps of HASSAN; but, being more fortunate, he found in the attachment of the sovereign all the pecuniary means fit for favouring his projects.

The last two wars with RUSSIA, the issue of which had been so unfortunate, had made the Grand Signior and the Divan sensible of the necessity of having a powerful navy, as well for defending the possessions of the BLACK SEA and of the ARCHIPELAGO, as for securing the capital from all insult on the part of the Russians. And, indeed, the captain-pacha has had the facility of transmitting into the department of the navy the major part of the revenues of the State, and by this means of causing a great number of ships to be built. We may, at this moment, carry the Turkish navy to twenty sail of the line, one of which is a three-decker; to upwards of twenty frigates or sloops, some of which are of forty guns; and to various other small vessels. On our departure, in the year VI. (1798) ship-building was pushed on with the greatest activity, at the head of the BLACK SEA, at SINOPE, in the Gulf of MUNDANIA, in the DARDANELLES, at MITYLENE, and at RHODES. And should nothing derange the projects of the captain-pacha, or divert the funds appropriated at this moment to the navy, it is not to be doubted that the

Porte will soon have a considerable number of ships like those of the European powers : but will it have a sufficiency of sailors to man them, and of officers skilful enough to direct their movements ?

Unfortunately the captain-pacha has not the great views of a statesman, and the knowledge which his place requires : he employs himself with the smallest details, with the minuteness of a man who has more good-will than talents. He is himself seen to direct the works of the arsenal, and there to spend the whole day, in order to stimulate the workmen by his presence ; but, too confined in his conceptions, he has thought to be able to form a navy by simply ordering the construction of a great number of ships : he has not encouraged trade, he has not even resolved on plans for the formation of seamen. There has, indeed, long existed a mathematical school in the arsenal : under Torr, another school was formed for navigation : but they have not received the encouragement which they would require, and the knowledge of the professors is too limited for these schools to be at this moment of great utility.

The Turks, in general, are not fond of the sea ; they cannot conform to the active life which a seaman is obliged to lead ; they cannot accustom themselves to the privations which that profession requires ; they commonly prefer making use of the Greeks, who display, in this line as in every other, an intelligence and an activity of which the Turks are not capable. The Greeks manœuvre tolerably well, and conduct their little vessels with much skill in the seas with which they are acquainted ; but they have not the smallest theory of navigation : almost all of them navigate without a compass, steer only by the knowledge of the mountains and coasts, bear up for every wind that blows somewhat strong, and go and wait for fine weather in the nearest port.

The failors and foldiers of the navy were formerly called *levens* or *levantis* : they are at this day diftinguifhed by the name of *galiondgis* : the former are Turks of the maritime villages, or Greeks of the ARCHIPELAGO ; they are permanent, constantly receive their pay, and are to embark at the firft order. The galiondgis-foldiers are all Muffulmans, and receive pay only when employed : after the fhip is put out of commiffion they obtain leave to retire into their own country, and to refume their ufual occupations. The Greeks are employed in a fhip of war only for working her ; her defence being reserved for the Muffulmans. Prudence permits not the latter, in thofe circumftances, to give arms to men whom they opprefs ; they know, befides, that the Greeks would be little difpofed to fight, and get themfelves killed for them.

When the exigencies of the State require it, recourfe is had to the merchant-service, and, if it be neceffary, a firman of the Grand Signior appears, by which it is enjoined to the primates of every ifland of the ARCHIPELAGO, to the governor of every maritime town of any confequence to fend to CONSTANTINOPLE a certain number of failors. This is what we faw happen in the fpring of the year VI. (1798), when the quiflion was to man three fhips of the line, two caravels, three frigates, three corvettes, and fifteen gun-boats. Thefe laft were intended for afcending the DANUBE, and feconding the attack which the captain-pacha mediated by land againft WIDIN, where PASWAN OGLOU was fhut up. The caravels were to repair to ALEXANDRIA according to cuftom ; the fhips, the frigates, and the corvettes were to go into the ARCHIPELAGO for the purpofe of levying on the Greeks the annual impoft to which they are fubject.

The galiondgis-foldiers are very undifciplined, very mutinous, and generally very licentious. Before their departure, they almoft always give themfelves up to exceffes which the government tolerates or dares not punifh for fear

of

of displeasing them all. The Jews, the Armenians, the Greeks, and even the Europeans are very circumspect at this period: they avoid passing, even in broad day, into the quarters at all remote of PERA and GALATA, and they take care to return to their own habitations before dark. Notwithstanding these precautions, a great number of persons were stopped and robbed in GALATA in the year VI. (1798), and some even were killed. True it is that to this scourge was added that of the arrival of the troops who were assembling at CONSTANTINOPLE and ADRIANOPLE, in order to march against PASWAN OGLU.

At PERA, there are several houses where European sailors, Greeks, and even Turks go to drink and intoxicate themselves, notwithstanding the severity of the government in this respect. Quarrels frequently happen among the sea-faring people, which sometimes terminate in the death of some of them. A little time after our arrival at CONSTANTINOPLE, we were witnesses of the assassination of a Greek, of the audacity of the galiondgi who killed him, and of the impunity which was the result.

A few Greeks, seated round a table, were drinking with each other, when a galiondgi whom they did not know, and who had just been drinking alone, called on them to pay for him: the latter refused; he insisted, and accompanied his demand by the epithets of *dogs*, *bogs*, and *infidels*, so familiar in the mouth of the Turks when they are speaking to subjects not Mussulmans. The answer was a second time negative, but not abusive; the galiondgi immediately drew his yatagan*, and threatened to kill these Greeks if they did not pay; on the third refusal on their part, one of them received the mortal wound. The galiondgi, without fear as without remorse, put on a resolute air, kept the others and all the by-

* A sabre a little crooked inwards, pointed and very sharp, which the Turks wear at their girdle, and of which they make use in battle.

standers in awe, by holding a pistol in one hand, and his yatagan in the other. He quietly walked off, when the guard, armed only with sticks, ran to seize hold of him. The galiondgi faced about, threatened to fire at the first who should advance, made a running fight of it, wounded some of them, and reached the burying-grounds, which lie on a declivity to the west of PERA. Under cover of the cypress-trees, he arrived at the shipping, where he met with comrades who received him and favoured his escape.

. A ship of war was, not long since, fitted up in such a manner that each Turk had his birth and every thing that was necessary for his cooking and other arrangements. The between-decks were so encumbered, that frequently it was very difficult to make use of the great guns, and the Mussulmans had constantly received several broadsides from the enemy, before they were in a condition to return them. The guns themselves were of a different calibre, and they were served without order or preparation: the shot which were brought for loading the cannon, were frequently either too large or too small; which did not allow of defending a ship of the greatest force against a single frigate: but, within these few years, the Turks have introduced more order into their ships; the duty is carried on with much more intelligence, the between-decks are no longer so encumbered, and the artillery is better served than it was before.

The captain-pacha, as we have already said, is the High Admiral and the superintendant-general of the navy; he usually commands in person the fleets and all the naval forces of the empire; he nominates to all places, and employments; he orders the building and repairing of ships; but the *terfuna-emini* is properly the naval minister, since he has the administration of the funds appropriated to the navy, the direction of the supply of stores to the arsenal, the care of the equipment of the ships, and the superintendence of all the works; he has under him chiefs, deputies, and different harbour-

masters, as well for the execution of his orders and for private superintendence, as for the police.

The length of the harbour, from the point of the seraglio to the village of **AJUB**, is upwards of three thousand toises; its smallest width is about three hundred: it is reckoned upwards of five hundred in front of **TOPHANA**, and in front of the arsenal. The ships of war are ranged very near to each other along the arsenal. Merchant-vessels commonly anchor along **GALATA**. Some of them come under **SALYBASARI** and **FONDOCLI**, waiting for the moment to get under sail, because they are afraid, in going out, that the stream may carry them on the point of the seraglio; but this precaution is generally useless: ships may effect their departure equally well from the place where they come to an anchor and from every part of the harbour, provided care be taken, if the wind hang to the northward, to keep on the side of **TOPHANA**, for were the wind to die away all at once, and a vessel had got too near the point of the seraglio, she would run a risk of being driven against the rocks by which it is skirted, and of being dashed to pieces. Ships of the line sometimes, before they sail, bring up in the middle of the harbour, but most frequently they anchor in the **BOSPHORUS**, from **FONDOCLI** as far as **BECHIK-TACHIE**.

A ship may, with the greatest facility, leave the harbour with every wind that commonly reigns in these countries. There is none but an easterly wind that is contrary; though, independently of that wind blowing very seldom at **CONSTANTINOPLE**, it is there but momentary: scarcely is it felt, before it shifts to the northward or southward.

However, if it is easy to leave the harbour, a ship cannot stand for the **ARCHIPELAGO** but with a wind from the northern quarter, nor for the **BLACK SEA**, but with a southerly wind. The position of the seas and the direction of the

the coasts form and modify the winds in such a manner that they blow almost always from those two quarters: a breeze from the south is much less frequent than the other, and scarcely ever blows during the three summer months of the year; on which account, it seldom happens that, in this season, a vessel is able to ascend the HELLESPONT.

Although this harbour has no road properly so called, it nevertheless enjoys, more than any other, that advantage, since a whole fleet, however numerous, may anchor in safety in the BOSPHORUS, and there wait for the moment of departure: it might also anchor between the coast of ASIA and PRINCES' Islands, and even all along the city as far as ST. STEPHANO, if the wind were to the northward.

The position of this harbour is such, that there is nothing to fear from the enterprises of an enemy's fleet; for it would be easy to prohibit the entrance of the BOSPHORUS and of the HELLESPONT, by fortifying those two important passages. The PROPONTIS might serve for naval evolutions, and become a practical school of navigation. This harbour has, besides, the great advantage of being capable of containing a very considerable navy, as well on account of its extent, and of the facility which it affords of procuring every thing that is necessary for the building, the repairing, and the equipment of a great number of ships, as because there might be had, in a little time, all the sailors that would be wanted, from the quantity of harbours and maritime towns which lie near at hand, from the extent of the coasts, and from the population of which these fertile and diversified countries are susceptible.

In short, one of the inappreciable advantages of the harbour of CONSTANTINOPLE, is that it cannot be choked up, because a part of the waters which come from the BLACK SEA, and which are driven back by the

advanced point of the seraglio, make the tour of the harbour, and sweep away all the ordure and filth which the Turks never cease to throw into it.

At the time of our departure, some Swedish engineers were constructing a basin in the arsenal, to serve for the repairing and even for the building of a ship of the greatest force. The rock in which they were digging, was soft, schistose, and nevertheless so little susceptible of infiltration, that the most simple pump was sufficient for the removal of the water. From this, hopes may be entertained of increasing the number of these basins at no considerable expense; which would be of the greatest utility to the navy of this country.

CHAPTER VI.

Excursion to the environs of Pera.—Tombs of the Armenians.—Trip to Scutari.—Description of the burying-grounds.—Mountain of Bourgourlou.—Ceremonies of the howling dervises.

TILL the arrival of the envoy extraordinary of the Republic, our pecuniary means allowed us not to undertake distant excursions: we were under the necessity of confining ourselves to seeing the city and the adjacent country, and to visiting, in ASIA, the environs of SCUTARI, and the land of the ancient CHALCEDON. Our first steps were directed to the burying-ground of PERA, a place for walking and recreation to some, a place for melancholy and meditation to others. You arrive there by the long street of PERA, and you find yourself on an elevated lawn, partly covered with grass, occupied by the burying ground of the Armenians and by that of the Europeans: on one side is seen a cultivated field, and a little farther on, a thick forest of cypresses, a vast cemetery of the Mussulmans. A company of bostangees are there in a sort of pavilion, to give, to those who call for them, pipes and coffee. This place, melancholy, from the surrounding objects, is nevertheless infinitely agreeable from the various prospects which present themselves, from the landscapes afforded by the coast of ASIA and the shores of the BOSPHORUS, from the view of the PROPONTIS and of a great part of CONSTANTINOPLE.

The graves of the Europeans are scattered over a space somewhat considerable: the greater part of them are remarkable from a large sepulchral stone, on which is engraved an inscription more or less emphatical. For this purpose is employed a granite marble, whitish, and frequently veined with gray,
 which

which is drawn from the Island of MARMORA. The graves of the Turks, of which we shall presently speak, are concealed from view by a very thick forest of cypresses. Those of the Armenians serve as a seat, and are shaded by different trees of an agreeable and diversified aspect : among others are to be remarked the mulberry-tree, the plane-tree, the ash, the elm, and the walnut-tree.

The graves of the Armenians are very close to each other, and are covered by a marble sculptured in relief in its upper part, representing a vase of flowers, the instrument which designates the rank and profession of the deceased, and an inscription in Armenian characters. A person must have died very poor if he have on his grave only a simple stone, without any ornament. Frequently is perceived, by the side of the inscription, the figure of a man whose head is cut off; this is a method of perpetuating the remembrance of an injustice, of an act of tyranny on the part of the Turks, and of transmitting it to the most remote posterity. I have often seen in the forenoon, Armenian women weeping and mourning over the grave of a husband, over that of a father, a mother, or a child : the whole family sometimes come thither : not unfrequently too priests come, with the parents of the deceased, to recite, over his grave, prayers for the repose and salvation of his soul. The Armenians, like the Turks, consider it as a duty to wash the body of their dead before they bury them, and almost all of them take care to plant, near the grave, a tree that may shade it one day, and moderate the ardent rays of the sun.

From this beautiful site you descend rapidly, by different roads, into a narrow, fertile valley, where some Turks cultivate, with no great intelligence, the black mulberry-tree, a few fruit-trees, and several kitchen-garden plants, such as the garden-bean, lettuce, chicory, *solanum melongena*, *hibiscus esculentus*, and various species of pumpkins. You leave at some distance, to the right, the

Turkish

Turkish cemeteries of which we have spoken; to the left, an uneven ground, often uncultivated: at the extremity of this valley you find, at a little distance from the sea, a walk planted with old cypresses and a few elms, too far distant from the city to be frequented. Beyond this, are seen two palaces belonging to the sultan, one of which situated on a height, is in a rather bad condition: the other, placed on the shore of the channel of the BLACK SEA, is kept up and taken care of: the latter has gardens tolerably extensive, various edifices, and several kiosks or little pavilions ornamented and beautified externally. SELIM III. goes thither, it is said, every year to spend a few days at the beginning of the summer; he takes with him his harem, some pages, and most of his officers.

We had already been several times on the coast of ASIA, and had thence brought back some plants and land-shells infinitely interesting: we had visited the extensive burying-grounds of SCUTARI and examined the soil of CHALCEDON, when we resolved, on the 15th of Prairial (3d of June) to go and assist at the religious ceremonies of the howling dervises, and to ascend the mountain of BOURGOURLOU, in order to enjoy fully the view of CONSTANTINOPLÉ. From the valley which I have just mentioned, we repaired to the sea-port of *DALMA-BATCHE* with some of our friends: we had taken with us two janizaries belonging to the French palace, in order that they might serve us as an escort and guides. This precaution is not absolutely necessary in the environs of the capital, for it very seldom happens that, in ordinary times, several Europeans assembled are there insulted by Turks; but it is proper and sometimes even useful, because a stranger is more respected, and more considered; besides, he obtains what he wants with greater facility, and always at a more moderate price than when he is alone.

We embarked in caïques with three pairs of oars. The sea was smooth, the weather very fine; ten minutes were sufficient to transport us across the channel,

channel, and land us at SCUTARI. This town, which may be considered as a suburb of CONSTANTINOPLE, is situated on the opposite bank of the channel, on a sloping ground: it presents itself in the form of an amphitheatre, and affords a view very picturesque from the mixture of trees, houses, mosques, and minarets. Its population is estimated at near sixty thousand souls. The greater number of the inhabitants of SCUTARI are Mussulmans: there are, however, many Greeks, a few Armenians, and a few Jews. This town serves as an emporium and a rendezvous to the caravans of ASIA: it carries on some trade inland, and likewise with CONSTANTINOPLE. Some manufactories of Rugs, both of silk, and of cotton, are there to be seen. The ground which surrounds it is tolerably well cultivated, and furnishes grain, vegetables, herbage, fruit, and particularly grapes which are kept during the whole winter and part of the spring.

At SCUTARI, there is one of the great mollas of the empire for the administration of justice. His jurisdiction embraces the part of the channel of the BLACK SEA on the side of ASIA, and extends several leagues inland. He has, under him, a naib or lieutenant, and several registers. For the police, there is a guard-house of bostangees commanded by a captain dependent on the bostangee-bachi, and a guard-house of janizaries commanded by an officer dependent on the janizary-aga of CONSTANTINOPLE.

The burying-grounds of SCUTARI are the handsomest of the Ottoman Empire, from their extent, the luxury of the tombs, and the height and closeness of the trees. The rich Turks of CONSTANTINOPLE, from a sentiment of pride or piety, prefer being buried in ASIA, which they consider as a holy land, as a land belonging to the true believers; while the land of EUROPE, according to them, is to fall one day into the hands of the christian powers, and be trodden on by the infidels. These burying-grounds are situated above

the town, and extend to the east and to the south, towards the sea, and to the environs of the spot formerly occupied by CHALCEDON.

Before we strayed into this forest of cypresses, we visited several store-houses of tomb-stones ready to be erected: we there found an assortment relating to the different professions and employments of the Turks, and calculated at the same time to satisfy the taste of every one: several workmen are employed in cutting the marble, in giving it various forms, in tracing on one of its faces, flowers, eulogiums, and sentences taken from the Koran.

When you have penetrated into the forest, the image of the tombs, the sight of a young widow shedding tears over the grave of her husband, of a mother regretting the loss of the dearest of her children, of an old man who has seen the last branch of his family become extinct; the silence which reigns in these places consecrated to death; the dark and uniform green of the cypress; the absence of the sun, whose rays cannot penetrate the thick foliage of the trees; the plaintive song of the turtles—every thing inclines man to meditation, and plunges him into a sweet melancholy. A similar place in EUROPE would be frequented by unhappy lovers, by unfortunate men, by those to whom sadness is a want, and tears are a relief.

The graves are very close to each other, and very diversified in their form. The poor Turks content themselves with erecting, at the two extremities of the grave, a simple sepulchral stone, without ornament and without inscription. Most frequently there are two slabs of marble sculptured and ornamented, one of which surmounted by a turban similar to that which the man wore in his life-time, presents an inscription indicating the age and profession of the deceased, and at the same time containing a panegyric or a sentence taken from the Koran: the other piece of marble is ornamented with a cypress-tree in relief, or a vase of flowers; it also bears sometimes a second inscription.

The letters are always in relief, and painted in black or gilt. The graves of the women are distinguishable, from one of these slabs of marble, in lieu of presenting a turban, being commonly terminated in the form of a mushroom. Those of the rich have the circumference of the grave in masonry : some, similar to an antique sarcophagus, are raised about three feet, and composed of four pieces of marble, two flat ones of which form the sides of the tomb ; those of the two extremities are surmounted by two pillars seven or eight feet high, on one of which is seen a long inscription. The upper part of the sarcophagus is without a lid, and leaves exposed to view the earth which covers the body. Sometimes a space containing one or several graves surrounded by a wall or palisade. A cypress-tree is commonly planted at one of the extremities of every grave ; which is the reason that, in these Turkish burying-grounds, those trees are so numerous and so close that they form a thick forest.

For the first years after the interment, the relations of the deceased come from time to time, or at fixed periods, to shed tears over the grave, to renew their regret, and spend the whole day in affliction. Some, more alive to their loss, make it their duty to cultivate flowers there, to take care of the cypress-tree which they have planted, and thence to address prayers to the Supreme Being.

We quitted these gloomy places in order to see images more cheerful. Half a league to the eastward of SCUTARI is the hill of BOURGOURLOU, whence the view extends afar, and spreads over the greatest part of CONSTANTINOPLE. The road thither is tolerably good : we went into a little village from which we had seen a great number of persons come, leading horses loaded with pitchers. We learnt that Sultan SELIM and almost all the great men of the capital drank no other water than that of the spring of this village, because it was considered as the most wholesome and the lightest of all the waters

which reach CONSTANTINOPLE, ~~or are~~ to be found in the environs. We tasted it, and we saw that, in fact, it deserved, to a certain degree, the reputation which it enjoyed. The hill whence it issues is schistose, and has nothing remarkable but a light turf, and a clump of trees that shades it, under which Turkish women assemble to drink coffee, smoke a pipe, and make a frugal repast.

We for ~~me~~ enjoyed the enchanting sight which presented itself to us: we could ~~not~~ sufficiently contemplate the majesty of these places; our eyes could not tire of alternately surveying the city and the harbour, the winding channel of the BLACK SEA, and the numerous villages situated on its shores, the ~~Sea of Marmora~~ MORA covered with islands, and the ever-verdant fields of EUROPE and ASIA. But the scene was to change: it was time to go and assist at the religious ceremonies of the dervises, known under the name of *howlers*; to see to what a pitch religious roguery sports with fools and block-heads, and by what means it succeeds in making dupes. One would have some difficulty in believing that men are capable of so much folly, and friars of impostures so gross, if the most enlightened states of EUROPE had not themselves afforded us scenes as ridiculous, and full as disgusting.

In a square hall by no means spacious, badly lighted, and in very indifferent condition, there was, for the men, a gallery raised three or four feet, and above, a tribune for the women, faced with close lattice-work. On one of the sides was a space lower by a foot than the floor of the hall, where we were as in the pit of a theatre. The middle of the hall was occupied by about thirty friars of different ranks and professions, to judge of them from their turban. Some of them were dressed as janizaries, others as tchocadars, some as hostangees; several had the lengthened, and almost cylindrical felt-cap of dervises. The superiors of the order had their turban nearly similar to that

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jetties are still to be distinguished, which must have been sufficient for its trade and for its wants.

Pleased with our day's excursion, we entered the caïque before sun-set, in order to repair to the city. All this coast, elevated some toises above the level of the waters, was then covered with several plants and various species of broom in flower, which produced the most beautiful effect, and singularly ornamented the picture presented to us by the cypresses of SCUTARI, and the nearest hills of ASIA. Here the sea is never sufficiently agitated to encroach on the coast for any great extent, and form a beach at all considerable. When the foil allows, vegetables grow and fructify at a little distance from the shore, without being incommoded by the waters.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of the environs of Constantinople.—Excursion of the sultan.—Establishments of Levens-schilit.—Powder-manufactory of St. Stephano.—Custom of the Orientals.

CITIZEN DESCORCHES arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE on the 19th of Prairial year I (7th of June 1793); from what he told us he was ignorant of our mission: he had not, before his departure, received any instructions which related to us, and found not at the legation any letter or notice concerning our travels. We were a little surpris'd to see ourselves, as it were, abandoned, when FRANCE, strongly agitated internally, and externally attacked with vigour by a considerable number of enemies, could not permit the provisional government to cast their looks on us. Besides, the ministers who had sent us to the LEVANT were no longer in place, or were already no longer in existence.

Our mission, subordinate to events, had for a long time past changed its object: our political and commercial relations with the Ottoman PORTE were almost interrupted since the retreat of the provisional ruler, since, above all, the looks of the Government of FRANCE appeared to be fixed more particularly on the points threatened, and since the greater part of the rulers, guided by a blind and disastrous delirium, were unfortunately hurrying the nation into measures subversive of all industry and of all commerce. The fate of the French settled in the LEVANT depended on that of the mother-country: a few reverses more in EUROPE would have been sufficient for them all to see themselves in a moment involved in one general proscription: to

such a degree did the **PORTE** then appear weak, and the enemies of **FRANCE** exacting.

Doubtful whether our travels would present the same degree of utility to those who were, since our departure, invested with authority, and whether they would grant us the assistance which their predecessors had promised us, and with which we could no longer dispense, we resolved to return to our own country, or wait at **CONSTANTINOPLE**, according to the opinion of Citizen **DESCORCHES**, till the minister for foreign affairs had explained himself respecting us. And in order to derive, at all events, the greatest advantage from our travels, we hastened to gather all the knowledge which a stay of a few months might allow us; we attentively visited the city and the environs, and directed our steps towards every place where we could make any interesting discovery.

Although the soil of the environs of **CONSTANTINOPLE** is every where very fit for the vine, for various species of corn, for the mulberry-tree, and for the different fruit-trees of our climates, scarcely any culture is there seen, except on the borders of the channel. The land is tolerably level in the west part of the city; it forms a few rising grounds and some vast plains, on which an industrious and agricultural people would easily find an abundant and varied food: it is uneven and intersected by hills and vales in the northern part, that is to say, from the harbour to the **BLACK SEA**. Almost all this place is schistose; the vegetable stratum is more or less thick and of a tolerably good quality, especially in the vallies and in the places where the soil is of any depth; but whether the mischievous genius of despotism dries up every where the sources of public prosperity, or whether the Turks are not fond of giving themselves up to the culture of the land, and that, in imitation of their forefathers, they prefer the dangerous profession of arms, robbery, or traffic, it is certain that, in all the Ottoman Empire, part of the best lands are neglected,

neglected, and that it is the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Arabs who apply themselves more particularly to agriculture, when they are not too much oppressed by the agents of the government, or tormented by pillaging and devastating hordes that the pachas tolerate or cannot repress.

Within these few years, some Greeks of EPIRUS and of DALMATIA have sown with success a few waste lands in the environs of the capital, and have there made sufficiently plentiful harvests; their example will be imitated, no doubt, if the government do not throw any obstacles in the way, if it can be convinced that a land covered with rich crops, productive trees, and useful plants is the most beautiful ornament of the environs of a city and the most flattering panegyric of the sovereign.

On going out by the elevated suburb of PERA, you find an uneven, schistose soil, little cultivated: to the left you see a narrow, deep valley, extremely fertile, in which are reared different kitchen-garden plants. Beyond this valley you perceive also, on an elevated ground, the village of ST. DIMITRI, which may be considered as one of the suburbs of the capital. The environs of this Greek village present a few vineyards and gardens. After having passed a second valley, you soon arrive on a level spot, uncultivated, and tolerably spacious, called OK-MEYDAN, to which the sultan repairs sometimes in summer, accompanied by the principal officers of his household and a part of his pages. He there spends the day in a beautiful kiosk or under magnificent tents, and sometimes amuses himself in letting off two or three arrows.

Skilful flatterers, ever active about the man in power, have not failed to find that every arrow shot from the hand of the sovereign reached to a prodigious distance, and, in order to eternize the remembrance of it, have been

eager to erect, every time that the fultan has taken this diversion, a marble pillar on which is engraved in relief a long inscription.

The pages who exercise themselves after him, would take good care not to display all their strength and all their skill, if they were not certain that the mark which has just been hit, in appearance, by the fultan, has been placed out of the reach of their arrows.

These pages then perform a mock-fight on horseback with the lance, very much used among all the Orientals; it consists in throwing on a gallop, with the arm raised, that weapon with the greatest force, and hitting with its point one's adversary at a somewhat great distance. And whether he have missed his aim or struck his enemy, the Turkish, Arabic or Persian warrior, in order not to remain unarmed or be struck in his turn, must again recover his weapon going on at the same time, without setting his foot to the ground. In the mock-fight, they make use of a stick called *djerid*, taken from light wood, such as the willow or the date-tree; for, without this precaution, serious accidents would frequently happen: a person might be dangerously wounded if the *djerid* were of a hard and heavy wood.

In every part of the Ottoman Empire, we were several times witnesses of the dexterity which the Orientals display in this combat, and of the nimbleness with which, while on a gallop, they recover their *djerid*, often at the first attempt. This fight, much more frequent among the Arabs than among the Turks and the Persians, can take place only between an inconsiderable number of combatants, and among nations which make much more use of the lance than of fire-arms.

In following the road of BELGRADE and of BUYUK-DÉRÉ, you see some uncultivated lands, a few scattered vineyards, and some fields laid down in corn.

corn. After a journey, on foot, of an hour and a half, you arrive at a fort of farm, called *LEVENS-SCHIFLIT*, adorned with some gardens tolerably picturesque, and some rather extensive buildings kept in very good order. HASSAN, captain-pacha, to whom Sultan ABDUL HAMID had given it as an appanage, had made of it a place of recreation, and had there placed a guard of *levens* or marines, in order to repress pillage, and prevent the robberies which were then committed on this road, and even under the walls of the city.

What is at this day seen most interesting at *LEVENS-SCHIFLIT*, is a manufactory of muskets and bayonets in the European style, established at the commencement of SELIM's reign, by a Spanish engineer: it was neglected and almost abandoned a little time after its establishment; but it has resumed its activity since SELIM, the captain-pacha, and some members of the council, finding the superiority of our weapons and the advantage of our tactics, resolved to introduce them by degrees into the Ottoman armies.

A part of these buildings is occupied, at this moment, by a corps of infantry of twelve hundred bostrangees paid and exercised in the European manner, by another corps of about four thousand gunners, bombardiers, and matrosses, and by a company of horse-artillery; but it appears that there had also been an intention of lodging there cavalry, to judge from the extent of the stables and buildings which were erected at the time that the Grand Signior and the greater part of the members of the Divan were likewise taken up with the creation of a standing army, organized in imitation of that of the European powers.

Notwithstanding the mutiny, the threats, and the revolt of the janizaries; notwithstanding the resistance of the other corps of troops and the opposition of the whole nation, which repels with obstinacy the customs that have been

been transmitted to it by other nations, it is not to be doubted that SELIM would have succeeded in his projects, and have surmounted all the obstacles which the interest of some, and the ignorance and fanaticism of all opposed to him, if a man no less extraordinary than enterprising, if PASWAN OGLOU had not found, in his genius and in the pecuniary assistance of those whom the success of his projects might counteract, the means of paralyzing the great measures of the PORTE, the only ones capable perhaps of strengthening the authority of the sovereign, of preventing the revolts of the pachas, of relieving the people, and of protracting the fall of this vast empire.

I shall, on another occasion, make known that man who is moved by hidden springs, and whom policy makes use of whenever it has need of him.

After having passed LEVENS-SCHIFLIT, you proceed, by various roads, to BELGRADE, to TARAPIA, and to BUYUK-DÉRÉ, villages which the European ambassadors have successively inhabited in the summer. To the westward and northward of the first, are some ancient forests, the abode of wild boars, stags, roe-bucks, jackals, and of several birds of prey. The *Smilax excelsa* * climbs up to the top of the most of these trees, and envelops them with its branches and foliage.

If you then direct your steps to the opposite side, to the west part of the city, for example, where the level grounds and the extremely fertile lands seem to invite man to conceal himself from the intrigues, the noise, and the tumult of cities, in order to seek in the fields, under a cool shade, in the middle of an orchard, plenty, peace, and happiness, you will be surprised, no doubt, to find these lands so little cultivated, equally neglected as the others, and to see them seldom covered with rich harvests. We were struck, the first time that we directed our steps towards these places, at the terrible effect which def-

* Lofty-climbing oriental bindweed.—T.

potism produces on agriculture in the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE. The silence which reigns every where, the nakedness of the fields, the culture of the lands extremely neglected, and the total abandonment of some, bespeak rather a devastated country, or the sterile borders of a province distant from the roads, the ports and towns of consumption, than the approaches of the capital of a great empire.

On a vast extent of ground which you traverse in the environs of the roads of ADRIANOPLE and of RODOSTO, or on the road of ST. STEPHANO, you meet with only three or four farms, the appanage of some eminent place or possessed for ever by some imperial mosque.

In following the road the nearest to the sea-shore, you arrive, after two hours' walk, at St. STEPHANO, a Greek village, where the Grand Signior has, within these few years, established a manufactory of gun-powder, the direction of which he has intrusted to an Italian. The ignorance of the Turks, in regard to the manufacture of powder, has always been such, that they for a long time purchased that commodity of the Venetians, and have not yet succeeded in giving it that degree of perfection which it obtains among us. The powder manufactured in TURKEY is scarcely fit for shooting, and especially for the priming of a musket or a pistol. The ship-captains who frequent the LEVANT, almost all make it an article of merchandize extremely advantageous, because the Turks seek, for their pistols and carbines, the fine powder of EUROPE, and because the Europeans who amuse themselves in shooting, cannot dispense with it.

The environs of ST. STEPHANO are excellent for quail-shooting, from the end of Fructidor to the end of Vendemiaire. Ducks and teals are also to be found during the winter, on the banks of the lake known under the Italian name

name of *PONTE PICCOLO**, which lies beyond the village. This lake is extremely full of fish; I have several times seen monstrous carp that had been caught there; they weighed from fifty to eighty pounds, and were three or four feet long.

It was on the 22d of Prairial (10th of June) that we went, on foot, to ST. STEPHANO, walking across fields covered with thistles, grasses, and plants of every species which delayed our progress, and fatigued us greatly. We hoped to return the same day by sea, in order to examine the shore; but as it was already late when we left the manufactory, it was impossible for us to find a boat, so that, tired as we were, we were obliged to determine on making a frugal repast at the house of a Greek papas, and pass the night on a sofa, exposed to fleas and bugs, extremely numerous throughout the LEVANT.

The Orientals, more simple than ourselves in their household furniture, are not acquainted with the luxury of beds. They have in their houses a certain number of very light mattresses, of wool or cotton, which they spread on the floor or on the sofas at bed-time, and on which they pass the night. The women take off their trinkets, and lay aside their finery; the men strip themselves of their habit of ceremony, change their turban, and lie down in their clothes, as well as the women. They cover themselves with quilted coverlids, to which the rich add a cotton sheet, which they commonly do not change till it is very dirty, or almost worn out.

The next morning these mattresses and coverlids are taken away; they are shut up in closets, and the bed-chamber again becomes the drawing-room and

* Or the little bridge; and in Turkish, *Kontchouk-ichefne*. The lake has taken the name of the bridge established on the narrow part which communicates with the sea. A few leagues from this spot, is another lake, called, for the same reason, *Ponte grande* or *Buyuk-ichefne*.

eating-parlour. Among the poor Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, the whole family almost always sleep in the same room; but, among the Mussulmans, the apartment of the men is always separate from that of the women.

As the use of chairs and tables is equally unknown to the Orientals, *sophas* are the principal and almost the only articles of furniture of their apartments: these are generally put on three sides of the room, on that of the windows and on two of the other sides: they are immediately placed on the floor, or raised a few inches, half a foot and even a foot, by means of a little eminence formed of some planks. They are covered with beautiful printed calicoes, stuffs of silk, velvet, or cloth, and ornamented with cotton, silk, silver, or gold fringe. There are large cushions for the back, throughout the length of the *sopha*, trimmed with fringe and covered with the same stuffs; carpets and mats are placed in the middle of the room. There remains a part of the floor, opposite to the entrance-door, which is lower by five or six inches, and which serves as a passage for going to the lateral chambers.

The *sopha* serves as a seat during the day, and as a bed during the night: there it is that the Orientals pass the day, squatted, with their legs crossed, and that, at night, they place their mattresses for sleeping. Frequently, in order not to wear the *sopha* too much, they remain on the carpet or on the mat, and, at night, for want of other mattresses, they sleep on the *sopha*, after having taken off the cover by which it is ornamented.

It may be conceived that this manner of living on the floor, on carpets or mats which cannot be swept, and which are neglected to be beaten or shaken, in wooden houses, in a hot climate, among a people who are scarcely acquainted with the use of linen, who keep on their garments during the night, and do not take them off in general till they are worn out, fleas, bugs, and all

the vermin which adhere to the dirty and negligent man, must be extremely numerous; this too was what made us suffer most in the course of our travels, because it was impossible for us to secure ourselves against those insects when we were obliged to lie down in a place which was infested by them.

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It was not enough for the fleas and bugs to prevent us from sleeping; we were, besides, lighted by a lamp which was burning before the image of the virgin, as is the practice night and day in all the Greek houses of the **LEVANT**. We durst not extinguish it: we should have afflicted too much the worthy priest at whose house we had stopped, and who had received us with the greatest politeness.

We had observed, in going to **ST. STEPHANO**, the double ditch and the double wall which secure **CONSTANTINOPLE** by land, and which have been so well preserved, notwithstanding the various attacks which that city has experienced: we wished, on our return, to take a look at the wall which formerly defended it by sea, from one extremity to the other, and which extended all along the harbour as far as the environs of *Aiyup*. We embarked the next morning in a caïque, and, in an hour and a half, we were before the little circular fort, known by the name of the *SEVEN TOWERS*, situated at the southern extremity of the city. It is nothing more at the present day but a State prison, in which the ambassadors and agents of foreign powers are shut up when the Turks are at war with them.

The walls which are afterwards seen, are partly destroyed. Here are to be remarked various inscriptions which indicate the period of the works which the Greek emperors erected. Here are likewise to be seen pieces of pillars which the Turks employed when they repaired the breaches occasioned by the siege that they carried on before they made themselves masters of the city.

We

We soon arrived at the gate of *DAOUD-PACHA*, near which is the ancient harbour of *THEODOSIUS* or of *ELEUTHER*. We stopped further on at *CATIRGA-LIMANI*, or the galley-harbour, constructed by *JULIAN*, repaired by *MAHOMET II*, at this day choked up, and, in a great measure, transformed, as well as the other, into kitchen-gardens.

These two harbours, useless to the navy, would, nevertheless, be deepened and kept up by a nation more enlightened than that of the Turks, because they would facilitate the conveyance of provisions and merchandize into every quarter of this great city, whose uneven and hilly ground scarcely permits the use of carts.

We rowed upwards of an hour along the walls of the city before we arrived off the seraglio. Here, cypresses, pines, and plane-trees rise above the outer wall; farther on, various irregular buildings, several domes and minarets of mosques are to be remarked in this vast enclosure which was occupied by the ancient *BYZANTIUM*; by the sea-side are seen a few kiosks, whither the sultan repairs sometimes to enjoy a view of the *PROPONTIS*, and breathe the cool air which comes every day, in summer, from the *BLACK SEA*.

Having arrived at the point of the seraglio, we passed the harbour, leaving it on the left, and *SCUTARI* on the right; then we disembarked at the landing-place of *TOP-HANA*, situated to the east of *GALATA*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of the Bosphorus and of its environs.—Arrival at Buyuk-déré.—Of the plane-tree which is there met with.—Indications of a volcano at the mouth of the Black Sea.

ON the 25th of Prairial (13th of June) we resolved to go and take up our residence at BUYUK-DÉRÉ, a village situated in EUROPE, near five leagues from CONSTANTINOPLE, towards the mouth of the channel, in order to be better enabled to visit to a somewhat considerable distance from the city, the fields of EUROPE and of ASIA, to repair with greater facility to the shores of the BLACK SEA, and to avail ourselves of the season favourable for observations, researches, and the collecting of most of the articles of natural history. The spring-plants had already done flowering, and no longer afforded any thing but seeds; those of summer were going to flower, and gave us hopes of an abundant harvest. On our return from EGYPT in Thermidor and Fructidor year III. we had collected a few late plants and a great many seeds; and, on returning from PERSIA in the year VI. (1798) we had not quitted CONSTANTINOPLE without gathering the spring-plants.

We went to embark at TOP-HANA on board a caïque with three pairs of oars: it was necessary to pass through a multitude of snarling dogs which fatigue Europeans by their barking, and of which a person ought to be on his guard, because they sometimes revenge themselves unawares for the blows which they, from time to time, receive from the sailors. The square which leads to the steps where you embark, is large, irregular, planted with some beautiful plane-trees, and adorned with a fountain constructed within these few years by a captain-pacha. It is surmounted by a broad, wooden frame, on

which

which are crowded ornaments, gilding, sentences, and inscriptions. At this period workmen were employed in building in the park of artillery, situated on the side of the square, a triple row of barracks which are disposed in the figure of an amphitheatre, and have a tolerably handsome effect. In the square were lying heaps of corn and fruit, on which turtles and sparrows in great numbers were gorging themselves without being in fear of the passengers or the master of these commodities.

The Turks have, in this respect, the greatest indifference: they neither allow themselves to kill these birds nor to drive them away: some even would think themselves very happy in providing for their maintenance. “*Must not these innocent creatures,*” say they, “*find their subsistence? If it please God, we shall next year have a more abundant harvest.*” Some among them build, in various parts of their houses, nests not without a degree of beauty, and take good care not to disturb the loves of these birds, still less to destroy their young. These religious sentiments form a singular contrast with the unjust and oppressive conduct which they hold towards the christians who reside among them and whom they have unmercifully stripped, and by no means agree with that insatiable cupidity which characterises the Turkish nation, and of which I shall frequently have occasion to speak.

On receding from the water-side, the eye extends with pleasure over the suburbs of GALATA, TOP-HANA, PERA, SALYBASARI, and FONDOLLI, which you leave on the left, and which presents itself in the form of an amphitheatre. You presently arrive in front of the seraglio of BECHIK-TACHE, of which I have already spoken. You then see the village of that name, together with those of ORTA-KEUI, KOUROU-TCHESME, and ARNAOUD-KEUI; but all this space forms, properly speaking, only one contiguous village, where are seen some very handsome houses almost entirely built of wood and variously painted: those belonging to the Turks are in white or red; those of the

Greeks,

Greeks, Armenians, and Jews are of a blackish brown. The latter are not allowed to employ the colours of the Mussulmans: in TURKEY, the houses, like the garments, distinguish the master from the slave.

The ground forms, all along the channel, a chain of schistose hills, very fertile, covered with cypresses, oaks, lime-trees, chefnut-trees, arbutuses, myrtles, brooms, and vines, which present an infinitely agreeable aspect. These hills are interrupted by some vallies of the greatest fertility, which contribute to vary and embellish the picture. Gardens more or less spacious, adorned with flowers and kiosks disposed in such a manner as to receive the current of air, and afford at a distance a view of the channel, make these houses places of enjoyment and delight. Most of the rich inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE here pass in summer the whole day, alone, squatted on a sofha, employed in smoking, drinking coffee, casting their eyes on passengers, and rolling in their fingers chaplets of coral, agate, and precious stones.

We landed, near the castle of EUROPE, in order to examine some plants and flowers which struck us. We entered into a Turkish burying-ground planted with beautiful cypresses and a few turpentine-trees: we found among others, a beautiful species of fennel-giant five or six feet high, different from the narrow-leaved fennel giant, and several species of campanula; we saw the beautiful violet, rough carabus, which I have described and drawn in my *Entomologie* *. After having spent several hours on shore, we returned to our caique; we soon passed ROUMILI-HISSAR, situated on a sloping ground. This castle, built under CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGUS, last emperor of the EAST, by MAHOMET II, when he was meditating the conquest of CONSTANTINOPLE, is much more calculated at this day to serve as a scare-crow, than to oppose the passage of a ship of the line. In fact, a single frigate would soon

* *Entom. ou Hist. Nat. des Insectes*. Vol. III. *Carabe*. N° 7. pl. viii. fig. 83.

knock to pieces all the gun-carriages and dismount the guns which are exposed to view on the beach, and put to flight the gunners, whom nothing shelters. This is the case with the castle of ASIA which lies on the other side of the channel : its construction is no better, and cannot defend the approaches of the capital.

In this place it was that DARIUS, king of PERSIA, established a bridge of boats in order to carry over his army when he wished to make war against the Scythians. By this place too it was that the crusaders, animated by a holy zeal, entered ASIA, in order to deliver the Holy Land from the yoke of the Mahometans.

We followed the coast of EUROPE, because the waters which come from the BLACK SEA, form a current more rapid in the middle of the channel and towards the coast of ASIA. The caïques which are ascending, all follow the same route, whereas, in returning to CONSTANTINOPLE, mariners take care to keep in the middle of the channel, and even to approach the coast of ASIA a little more than that of EUROPE ; which facilitates their return, especially if a light northerly wind allow them to spread their sails.

If we consider the quantity of water which the BLACK SEA receives from the DANUBE, the DNIESTER, the DNIEPER, and the DON, as well as from a great number of rivers and torrents which descend from Mount CAUCASUS and the hills of MINGRELIA, or which come from GEORGIA, ARMENIA, and NATOLIA, we shall perceive that, confined in a basin too narrow, these waters would have been obliged to spread themselves more in order to provide for a greater evaporation and put themselves in equilibrio, had they not found an issue through the BOSPHORUS and the channel of the DARDANELLES. It is by this means that the surplus of the waters of that sea is incessantly flowing out, and is poured into the MEDITERRANEAN : and this is what

what explains to us why the waters of the BLACK SEA and those of the PROPONTIS are less salt than those of the MEDITERRANEAN and of the OCEAN.

The current is so strong, that the channel, in some places, rather resembles a river than an arm of the sea : it is seen to oppose the progress of a ship when the south wind blows but faintly. The direction of the coasts compels the waters to set more towards those of ASIA, and to form on that side a more rapid current ; however, at the point of ARNAOUD-KEUI, one is obliged to ascend by tracking, by means of a rope which is thrown to some sailors who remain continually on the shore. The waters, in this part, have such a rapidity, that it would be impossible to proceed by rowing without going to a distance from the land : but when this obstacle is overcome, the current is scarcely any longer perceptible, and even, in various places, the direction of the capes causes the waters to ascend, as in rivers ; which favours the progress of a boat, as is to be remarked, in a very evident manner, from TOP-HANA to beyond FONDOCLI, because the waters, setting with impetuosity on the advanced point of the seraglio of CONSTANTINOPLE, they there divide : one part of them makes the tour of the harbour, returns along HAS-KEUI, the Arsenal, GALATA, TOP-HANA, and ascends afterwards to FONDOCLI and BECHIK-TACHE, while the other sets immediately into the Sea of MARMORA. This separation of the waters, as well as their direction, is much more apparent after a heavy rain, when they are disturbed by the small river which discharges itself into the head of the harbour.

This circular motion of the waters of the channel, united to that of the small river of which I have just spoken, rids the harbour of CONSTANTINOPLE, as I have said elsewhere, of the ordures which the Turks throw into it, and at the same time sweeps away all the filth which the rain-waters carry into it in winter from every part of the city, and which would not fail to choke

choke it up ~~one day~~, because the Turks, by no means susceptible of foresight, would be at no expence for keeping it in order.

For a long time we saw flocks of birds passing and repassing continually towards the middle of the channel, skimming the surface of the water and flying with the greatest swiftness. The Europeans designate them by the name of *damned souls*, because they think that they see in them restless beings, tormented by the wish of proceeding incessantly from the BLACK SEA into the MEDITERRANEAN, and from the latter into the former. As soon as we had passed the first castle, we directed our boatmen to recede from the coast, and advance towards the middle of the channel. Our intention was to shoot at these birds, in order to ascertain their species, and to preserve some of them. We soon came up to them: they passed sufficiently near the catque in which we were, to permit us to kill several at every shot. The boatmen were Turks: they at first rowed without repugnance towards the birds which the first discharge of our pieces had brought down; but, because we would not allow them to cut their throat, which would have damaged the plumage, we had the greatest difficulty to make them row afterwards toward those which a second discharge had also brought down; so that, soon participating ourselves in the compassion with which the sight of these birds struggling with death must inspire all, we very quickly smothered them and contented ourselves with taking four of them. We wrapped them up in a cloth in order to conceal them from the sight of our boatmen, and to preserve their plumage; after which we again directed our route towards the coast of EUROPE.

The Mussulmans, from a sentiment of piety or religion, are in the habit of cutting the throat or chopping off the head of all the animals which they bring down by a musket shot or otherwise, even when they are quite dead. This custom is so generally and so religiously observed, that, in the different coun-

tries which we visited, we were seldom able to obtain even for any money, that the throat of the birds which were brought to us should not be cut; and when we were present, it was frequently very difficult for us to prevent it.

The bird that we had just taken is a slight variety of the petrel-puffin *. It differs from it by its make being a little smaller and by the bill being entirely black. By the account of seamen, it makes its nest on the shores of the BLACK SEA, and scarcely lives on any thing but fish. Its flesh is not good to be eaten.

We soon reached the point of YENI-KEUI, whence we had a charming view of TARAPIA and BUYUK-DÉRÉ. Having arrived off TARAPIA, our eyes were directed with pleasure towards the BLACK SEA, which we discovered at the distance of upwards of two leagues: our imagination was already measuring its extent; we were already impatient to visit its shore; and, like new Argonauts, we were already forming the project of carrying off from these regions all the productions of nature, in order to convey them into our own country. Circumstances, as will be seen, somewhat counteracted our projects, and forced us to direct our first steps into countries better known, more frequented, but no less interesting.

We arrived at an early hour at BUYUK-DÉRÉ: it was a holiday. In the evening, we wished to take a walk in the meadow, and see the famous plane-tree which had long since been mentioned to us, and of which some travellers have given a slight description. Seven or eight trees of an enormous size, adhering at their base, rise circularly and leave in the middle a rather considerable space. A great many Greeks and Armenians were seated on the turf, under the shade of these trees, and smoking their pipes: different

* *Procellaria puffinus*.

groups of Turkish and Armenian women, veiled and surrounded by their children, were seated apart: some Greek women richly dressed, more or less handsome, fixed the looks and the attention of some Europeans whom the crowd of people had attracted. Several Turks were in the enclosure of the plane-tree, smoking their pipe, and drinking coffee which had just been prepared for them hard by.

The moment was not favourable for the observations which we wished to make; however, we approached the tree, and when we were by the side of the Turks they invited us to sit down near them: they offered us pipes and coffee which we accepted, and, by means of a French drogouman who accompanied us, we carried on a conversation not very important. We had an opportunity of seeing at our hotel two of these Turks, and of offering them, in our turn, an excellent dinner and the best wine that is drunk in CONSTANTINOPLE.

The plane-tree often presents at its base a considerable expansion of a diameter double and triple that of the trunk, and which may exceed thirty feet, as we have seen in some places, so that it frequently happens, when the tree dies of age, that it sends forth all round the stump, shoots which form so many new trees; this, no doubt, is what has happened to the plane-tree of BUYUK-DÉRÉ. We remarked, indeed, that the seven or eight trunks of which it is formed, appear to have a common origin, and that they are all connected by their base.

The plane tree grows naturally throughout the EAST: it is common on the banks of the rivulets in GREECE, in the islands of the ARCHIPELAGO, on the coast of ASIA MINOR, in SYRIA, and in PERSIA. Its wood is not inferior, for cabinet-work, to any wood of EUROPE; it takes a beautiful polish, and is very agreeably veined. The Persians employ no other

for their furniture, their doors, and their windows. This tree deserves to be more generally cultivated in FRANCE, as well on account of the qualities of its wood, as from the beauty of its foliage and the cool shade which it affords. It acquires, in a good soil a little moist, a size at which no European tree arrives.

It is well known that the Romans conveyed this tree into ITALY, and that they propagated the culture of it to such a degree in their gardens and country-houses, that PLINY and HORACE exclaimed against the abuse which was made of it in their time. It was then difficult to make a better choice, and to procure a tree more beautiful and better calculated for affording a cool shade. There was, according to PLINY, a plane tree, in CYPRUS, and another at the fountain of GORTYNA in CRETE, which preserved their leaves all the year. We must, doubtless, place this assertion among the fables which antiquity has transmitted to us, or at least consider these trees as different from common plane-trees.

BUYUK-DÉRE or the *GREAT VALLEY*, is a village situated in the broadest part of the channel, on a sort of gulf, about six miles from the BLACK SEA. The houses stand on the sea-shore, and occupy near a mile in extent: those belonging to most of the ambassadors, built in the European taste, are remarkable for their elegance and the beauty of their gardens. As this village is scarcely occupied except by Europeans, Greeks, and Armenians, it would be an infinitely agreeable place of residence, if the ambassadors would bring themselves to lay aside, especially in the country, the ceremony, etiquette, and preferences which accompany them every where. The man who is fond of good living, and who is not in a condition to procure it for himself at his own home, finds at their table the reward of his complaisance and the indemnification of the incivilities which he is often obliged to put up with.

The Armenian women, here as elsewhere, live retired, and do not appear in the streets unveiled ; the Greek women live with as little constraint as in the capital, and contribute to render the monotony of society supportable. It were to be wished, however, that they joined, to a face generally handsome and to their natural gaiety, a mind more cultivated, a heart more loving, and that they shewed less avidity for money and less taste for trifles.

The channel anciently known under the name of the *BOSPHORUS OF THRACE*, is near seven leagues long, and about twenty miles from the point of the seraglio of CONSTANTINOPLE to the CYANEAN Islands. It is not two miles in its greatest width, and it is so narrow in several places, that some ancient authors have advanced that a person may hear the birds sing from the one shore to the other, and that two men may easily hold a conversation across the channel.

The next day after our arrival at BUYUK-DÉRÉ, the weather being very fine, and the water perfectly smooth, we hastened to go on the BLACK SEA, in order to visit the shore at some distance from the mouth of the channel. We frequently landed, as well to examine the coast, as to observe the plants and the various productions of nature that were there to be met with.

As soon as we had passed the village, we were struck at seeing on both shores, indications of a volcano which we followed for an extent of several leagues. We distinguished every where rocks more or less changed or decomposed ; every where accumulation and confusion attest the action of subterraneous fires : we perceived jaspers of various colours, carnelians, agates, and chalcidies in veins among porphyries more or less changed ; a breach by no means solid, almost decomposed, formed by fragments of trap, agglutinated by calcareous spar ; a handsome porphyry on a rocky base of greenish trap, coloured by copper : in short, we saw, over an extent of upwards of half a league,

league, a hard rock of trap of a greenish blue, in like manner coloured by copper.

It is this last, no doubt, that occasioned the ancients to give the name of *CYANEÆ* or *CYANEAN ISLANDS* to some islets which were situated at the mouth of the channel, near the coast of EUROPE. At this day they are nothing more than very small rocks; which leads us to believe that their size has diminished from the constant action of the waters which has eaten them away and undermined them by degrees. These rocks were also called *SYMPLEGADES*, because they appeared united or joined, according to the place whence they were viewed. As they are more or less apparent, according as the north or south wind raises or lowers the waters in this part, the Greeks, always inclined to the marvellous, have supposed that these islands were floating and infinitely dangerous to imprudent or inattentive mariners.

On one of these rocks the Romans erected an altar to *APOLLO*, which, at *CONSTANTINOPLE*, is improperly called *POMPEY'S PILLAR*. Several travellers have made efforts to read the Latin inscription which is there to be found; but the letters are at present so effaced, that it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to accomplish that task.

We had not time to see whether the indications of a volcano extend to a great distance in *ASIA*, because about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning the wind blew from the northern quarter, and raised a great swell on the sea: it would have been imprudent, in a small caïque, to cross from the point of *EUROPE*, where we were, to that of *ASIA*. We contented ourselves with coasting the European shore for some time, and with convincing ourselves that the indications of the volcano extend on that side to upwards of a league.

The width of the channel, at its mouth, is from eighteen to nineteen hundred toises. The entrance is defended, on each side, by fortifications erected by Baron DE TOTT, and augmented lately by some French engineers. The Turks, through ignorance, through foreign influence, or through motives of economy, have always opposed the execution of the plans which the engineers presented to them, though it was very important for them to deprive their natural enemies of the means of coming to disturb them even in their capital. In fact, it would be very easy for the Russians, at this moment, to penetrate into the channel, with a northerly wind, and to advance as far as CONSTANTINOPLE, because the batteries being few in number and exposed, the guns would soon be dismounted by the fire of a line-of-battle ship. Their fleet, besides, would escape by receiving a few shot, if the Turkish gunners were more skilful, more exercised and more active than they are.

At some distance from these fortifications, there is in EUROPE and in ASIA a light house for guiding mariners and pointing out to them the mouth of the channel; which does not prevent shipwrecks from being very frequent when the wind is a little strong, because the Turks and Greeks, navigating on the BLACK SEA, without a compass and at a little distance from the land, are easily disconcerted when they lose sight of the coast, or no longer distinguish where they are. Frequently it happens to them, when the weather is foggy, to take a direction contrary to that of their course. Citizen BEAUCHAMP, returning from TREBISOND, met with a Turkish ship which was steering to the eastward, thinking that she was standing for CONSTANTINOPLE: he had no small difficulty to convince the master of his mistake and persuade him to follow the vessel in which he was embarked.

CHAPTER IX.

An error to be found in the Charts of the Black Sea.—Giant's Mountain.—Earthquake.—Environs of Belgrade.—Mine of fossil wood.—Mode of fishing followed in the environs of Constantinople.

THE fanaticism and ignorance of the Turks having always opposed a barrier to the navigation of the European powers on the BLACK SEA, it follows that the charts published to this day are very defective. CITIZEN BEAUCHAMP having been requested, by the National Institute, to determine, in a precise manner, the true position of the capes and principal towns situated on that sea, could never procure the consent of the PORTE to furnish him with the means nor permission to go thither to make his observations. The promise even of communicating the results which he might obtain, had no effect on the Turkish government or on the captain-pacha. The latter answered the drogouman who was speaking to him on the subject; “*We have navigated on this sea for a long time past; we do not want to be better acquainted with it, and all your observations would tend only to give a more exact knowledge of it to our enemies.*”

However, by dint of solicitations, Citizen BEAUCHAMP obtained permission to travel as a naturalist, and it was under this title that he surveyed the coast as far as TRIBISOND. It results from his observations, that the south coast advances in some places about a degree more towards the north, that Capes KÉRENPE and INDJÉ are nearly in the forty-second degree, that the Gulf of SAMSON is much deeper, and that TRIBISOND is five or six leagues more

to the westward than it is laid down on the charts. We had not the means of seeing the eastern coast and of detecting the errors concerning it. Thus it is that a fanatic and anti-social nation prevents, not only the diffusion of knowledge at home, but also objects to others coming thither for the purpose of discovering useful truths.

It is, undoubtedly, needless to establish hypotheses and enquire whether there was a period when the waters of the BLACK SEA, after having broken their dam, made an irruption into those of the MEDITERRANEAN, or whether the communication of those two seas be as ancient as their formation; it ought to be sufficient for a traveller to state facts: inductions will be easily drawn from them, when we shall have acquired a more exact knowledge of local circumstances. We regret not having had it in our power to visit all the shores of the BLACK SEA, in order to examine whether they indicate that the waters had risen formerly to a height above that which they have at this day, and whether, after having broken the dam which the lands opposed to them, they have not fallen all at once to the point where they now remain. It is not to be doubted that the sudden fall of the waters, if it had taken place, would have left manifest traces; the lands would present at a distance considerable strands, imperceptible declivities, recent vestiges of marine bodies, &c. &c.

Opposite to *BUYUK-DÈRÈ* is to be remarked in *ASIA*, a hill a little more elevated than the other, situated on the shore of the channel; it is known by the name of *GIANT'S MOUNTAIN*: it is famous from an infinite number of fables accredited, and from the supposition that there exists on it the grave of a giant. This hill is schistose, and has nothing remarkable but the fertility of its soil. Grass grows there in abundance, vegetation is vigorous, and the number of scarce and curious plants is sufficiently considerable to merit

the attention of the botanist. One part had been laid down in corn; a numerous flock came every day to graze on the other.

From the top of this hill are to be admired various prospects infinitely agreeable and diversified: on one side, is perceived the BLACK SEA: on the other, the Sea of MARMORA: the eye extends with pleasure over the fertile, hilly, and wild soil of EUROPE and ASIA, and one follows with a sort of rapture all the windings of the channel.

We afterwards strolled over different hills covered with brooms, rock-roses, arbutuses, and heath: we found the famous hellebore of HIPPOCRATES, the *daphne pontica* very common, a beautiful species of *bupleurum*, and a *laserpitium* which yielded us, in preparing it, a species of resinous gum very odoriferous, somewhat similar to gum ammoniac. We saw a great number of Greeks employed in tearing up the stumps of the arbutus, in order to make charcoal of it, as, in the department of the VAR and elsewhere, an excellent charcoal is made with the stumps of the *tree* heath and the *brush* heath.

On the 28th of Prairial (16th of June) at a few minutes past eleven o'clock in the morning, we felt a slight shock of an earthquake: the weather was then perfectly calm, the air a little foggy, and the heat somewhat powerful. It is well known that, in all times, these countries have been exposed to violent shocks. Historians relate that the temple erected by CONSTANTINE the Great to divine wisdom, was thrown down by an earthquake a little time after its construction. The superb church of ST. SOPHIA, built by JUSTINIAN on the ruins of the temple itself, suffered a little at another epoch. In 1509, under the reign of BAJAZET, a great part of CONSTANTINOPLE was likewise thrown down by a violent earthquake: but BITHYNIA, all the south coast of the BLACK SEA, almost all ASIA MINOR, and especially SYRIA, are still more
subject

subject to it. SMYRNA has been several times destroyed almost to the very ground. BURSA, NICEA, and NICODEMIA have experienced the same fate. We shall speak elsewhere of the earthquakes of SYRIA on the occasion of that which, during our stay in PERSIA, threw down a great part of the houses of LATAKIA.

A few days after, we directed our steps towards the valley of BUVRUK-DÉRÉ; we crossed a wood of chefnut-trees and oaks; we passed under the first aqueducts, and, after two hours' walk, we arrived at BELGRADE, a small village where the ambassadors formerly passed the summer, but which they have abandoned by degrees, because the air is become insalubrious, since the Turks have neglected to keep in order and cleanse the little lake which lies near the village. This lake has been formed in a valley, by means of a thick wall which stops the rain-waters and those of some little springs which run thither. It furnishes a part of the water which has been brought to CONSTANTINOPLE for the wants of the inhabitants.

In PERSIA, we have several times seen such walls erected for the irrigation of the lands. This method is so simple, that we are surpris'd that it is not generally adopted in countries where water is wanting, in regions where the productions are infinitely more considerable and more valuable, when, during the summer, there can be introduced on a foil, a quantity of water sufficient for the watering of the plants which it is there wish'd to cultivate. In all mountainous countries, in gorges, in places where a valley grows narrow, a wall in masonry may be constructed, and strengthened on the outside by earth brought for that purpose. There would necessarily be formed during the winter and spring, the ordinary seasons of rains, a lake more or less extensive, according to the disposition of the ground and the choice that may have been made of it. This water may afterwards be distributed, either for the wants of a city, as at CONSTANTINOPLE, or for the

irrigation of lands situated below, as in PERSIA. It will, in certain places, be sufficiently abundant to afford several fountains to a town, and to water, besides, a part of its territory.

In the environs of BELGRADE, are met with several little villages, at no great distance from each other, almost all inhabited by Greeks. The fields present some degree of culture : vineyards and a few gardens are there to be seen. All this country affords fine cluster or stalk-fruited oaks *, whose wood is very hard and very fit for ship-building. Various aqueducts constructed by the emperors of the EAST, for the purpose of bringing water to CONSTANTINOPLE, attract admiration.

The environs of BELGRADE are very well calculated for shooting ; you may there kill pheasants, woodcocks, red partridges, several species of ducks, hares, roes, and sometimes red deer. Quails are very plentiful in autumn ; you also see the starling, the thrush, the blackbird, the turtle, the roller, the loriote, the cuckoo, and almost all the birds of EUROPE.

For some days past we had seen, in the evening and during the night, little phosphoric bodies scattered in great numbers in the air, crossing each other in every direction, succeeding each other, tracing a luminous track and disappearing with the rapidity of lightning. We soon discovered that this was the little Italian glow-worm †, the male and female of which are equally provided with wings, and equally luminous.

We had long known that there existed a coal-mine on the shores of the BLACK SEA, and another in the environs of RODOSTO ; but we had not yet

* Chêne à grappe. *Quercus racemosa*. LAMARCK. *Encycl.* No. 1.

† *Lampyris Italica*.

taken any step towards seeing them. Some Armenians who had recently obtained permission from the captain-pacha to work the former for the wants of the arsenal, were very glad to have a conversation with us on that subject : their object was to learn from us the means of working their mine, from which they as yet drew but a coal of bad quality. We wished to proceed to the spot, which gave them great pleasure ; so that, in the course of Thermidor, we set out from BUYUK-DÉRÉ, in order to repair thither. We crossed a country very uneven, a little mountainous, at first volcanic, then schistose, uncultivated, covered with rock-roses, arbutuses and broom : we went to three or four small villages, and we arrived on the shores of the BLACK SEA, after having walked near half an hour on a low sandy ground, covered with a pretty bindweed with oval, downy leaves *.

The coast, elevated upwards of twenty toises, almost perpendicular for a great extent, presents nothing but a mixture of clay and calcareous earth, gray or bluish, in which are to be remarked a few veins, more or less thick, of vegetable substances, and especially of pieces of wood very distinguishable, which have not yet entirely reached the state of charcoal. The waters of the sea, when violently agitated by a wind rather strong from the north or the east, come to the very edge of the coast ; but when they are smooth or nearly so, there is seen for a great extent a strand of several toises in breadth, covered with stones and pebbles.

The Armenians worked this coaly substance only by cutting perpendicularly all the soil ; this occasioned them a considerable expense for which they received no indemnity, since they did not yet procure any real coal. We had some difficulty to make them understand that it was necessary to form galleries and penetrate into the mine. But, as we conjectured, either that the

* *Convolvulus Persicus.*

mine was good for nothing, or that the coal would be much lower, we prevailed on them to clear away the soil and penetrate into the veins which they should discover beneath. "If your first essays," added we, "should not procure you a better coal than that which you have hitherto obtained, relinquish your undertaking."

The mine which lies in the environs of *RODOSTO* on the *PROPONTIS*, appears to be of better quality than that on the shores of the *BLACK SEA*, were we to judge from some specimens taken at the surface; for it has not yet been worked, though it is at a little distance from the sea. We were assured that it extended afar, and that it was met with again in the environs of *ERÉCLII*.

In all seasons of the year, fish is extremely common in the *PROPONTIS*, the *BOSPHORUS*, and the *BLACK SEA*; but as the Turks make very little use of this food, and as there is scarcely any other than the table of the Europeans and that of the rich Greeks and Armenians which are set out with it, it follows that there are very few fishermen throughout the *EAST*, and that at *CONSTANTINOPLE* even few persons apply themselves to this kind of industry.

We are not here speaking of salted fish which comes in the way of trade, from the *BLACK SEA*, or from some countries of *GREECE*: as it is at a low price, it is in request with the poor Greeks, Armenians and Jews, who make of it a rather great consumption.

The mode of fishing the most followed in the environs of the capital, consists in erecting in the places which are known to be frequented by stationary fishes or by fishes of passage, a scaffold in the form of an *X*, on the top of which a man places himself in order to observe the moment when the net, spread at the foot of it, is full of fish: at the signal which he gives, the net is drawn, and the fish are taken.

The bonito, which some ichthyologists improperly take for the young tunny, is there in great plenty, especially at the end of the summer and in autumn. The bearded mullet, the *pageau* *, the dorado, the turbot, the mackarel, the sole, the whiting, are the fishes the most in request and the most common of those seas.

In the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE, are also taken various shell-fish more or less esteemed by the Greeks. The oyster is abundant and very well flavoured. Muscles there acquire a considerable size. Lobsters and sea cray-fish are there to be eaten in great plenty: the latter is as good there as in the South of FRANCE.

The dolphin appears not unfrequently in every season of the year. These fishes are seen to come in shoals into the very harbour, and play on the surface of the water, especially when the sea is smooth, and the wind blows from the south quarter. The people of the country, more ignorant and more credulous than the ancients, relate respecting the dolphin an infinite number of stories all equally ridiculous, which we shall dispense with repeating.

* We are ignorant what fish is here meant; but we will take an opportunity of informing our readers, when we have consulted the Author.—*Translator.*

TRAVELS IN THE

CHAPTER X.

Excursion to Princes' Islands.—Amusement which is there to be found.—Description of them.—Their culture and their productions.—Advantageous position for the establishment of a lazaretto.

WE had already made two excursions to PRINCES' Islands, the one in Messidor, the other in Thermidor: we resolved, towards the end of Fructidor year I, (1793) to go thither for the third time, in order to examine them completely and to ascertain all their productions. Several of our friends accompanied us, as well to divert themselves after their occupations, as to shoot quails, extremely plentiful and very easy to be killed in this season. A merchant was so kind as to receive us into his country-house and take on himself all the details of the expense. We hired two large caïques, and, in two hours, with a light breeze from the north north-east, we reached the harbour of PRINKIPOS, nearly twelve miles distant from GALATA. The sea was so smooth that no one was sick; so that we were able to enjoy, at our ease, the different prospects presented to us by the coast of ASIA. We soon passed CHALCEDON, the deep bay which lies beyond it, and the cape planted with cypresses which comes next, and on which the Turks have erected a light-house. We left at a distance on the right, PROTA and ANTIGONA; we approached nearer to CHALKIS, and we arrived at PRINKIPOS before sun-set.

The town is situated on the east part of the island, along the sea-shore: it is almost entirely peopled by Greeks, the greater part mariners or cultivators. Its population may be estimated at two or three thousand inhabitants. The coast of ASIA being distant only about two leagues, ships anchor in all seasons with safety, under shelter of all these islands, but more particularly at

one or two cables' length from the village of CHALKIS and PRINKIPOS: the caiques come and moor along the shore, to a sort of quay.

The difficulty of repairing to CONSTANTINOPLE, when the weather is bad or the wind a little too strong, has induced the ambassadors and agents of foreign powers, to prefer a residence at BELGRADE, TARAFIA, and BUYUFDÉRE, where the air is less pure, less wholesome, and where the plague makes its appearance more frequently than in these islands. But this disadvantage is compensated by the power which they have of setting out at all times from those three villages, in a carriage or on horseback, while they would be obliged sometimes at the islands, to wait for favourable weather for returning to the capital, whither urgent business may call them every moment.

We arrived in the most agreeable season and at the period of the year when the concourse of people is the greatest. We had every evening, in a coffee-house open to all the curious and all the amateurs a sight much relished by the Turks, and frequented even by the most decent women, although it most frequently represented scenes at which European females, the most shameless, would have blushed to be present: true it is that these women did not enter the coffee-house, but contented themselves with remaining in the street, whence they could perceive every thing. This sight is called *Karagucuze*, a sort of *Ombres Chinoises* which constitute the delight of the capital, and which individuals in easy circumstances procure themselves from time to time at their own houses. The scene which most diverted the spectators, was that of a he-afis amusing himself with a Jew. We were surprised, the first time that we were present at the kara-gucuze, to see the Turks, naturally grave and silent, give themselves up to immoderate laughter at the sight of these obscenities. "What inconsistency," said we, "in a nation which breaks out against libertinism with an extreme rigour, often with ferocity, which punishes some-

“times with death the flightest attack on morals, which will not tolerate
 “prostitutes, and which permits in public such an indecency!”

The islands known under the name of PRINCES' Islands, are seven in number, four large, and five small ones. The first is called *PROTA*; the second, *ANTIGONA*; the third, *CHALKIS*; and the fourth, *PRINKIPOS*; to the south of the latter, lies the little island called *RABBIT* Island; to the west, are two small islands, one of which is known by the name of *OXTA*, and the other by that of *PLATA*: the two others are nothing but nameless rocks.

PRINKIPOS is the most considerable and the most fertile of them all: it appeared to us entirely volcanic and formed of quartz, granites, &c. &c. altered or decomposed. The land is elevated, uneven, and hilly. It is dry and arid on the hills, red and tolerably fertile in the bottoms, and especially to the south of the town. The natural productions are the *ALEPPO* pine, known in the South of FRANCE by the name of *pin blanc*; the *oxycedrus* or brown-berried juniper; the broad-leaved phillyrea, the arbutus, the prickly pimpinella, the pale-flowered French lavender, the broom, the acute-leaved asparagus, the Cretan cistus or rock-rose, the turpentine-tree, a species of savory, the mallow-leaved bindweed, &c. &c.

The wild olive-tree is to be found in abundance on all the hills. We likewise saw it in the islands of the ARCHIPELAGO, on the rising grounds of the HELLESPONT and on those of ASIA MINOR, at no great distance from the sea. It is small and stunted when it is without culture, and exposed to be gnawed by cattle. Does it grow naturally in all the places where we saw it? Is it in some a remnant of ancient culture? This is a question on which we shall avoid giving our opinion.

This tree does not grow on the borders of the BOSPHORUS nor in the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE, because the cold is sometimes more sharply felt there than at PRINCES' Islands, on account of the vicinity of the BLACK SEA. But it is to be found strong and vigorous in the south part of the PROPONTIS, and on the shores of the HELLESPOINT. Some tolerably fine ones are to be seen scattered in the fields of PRINKIPUS. I am ignorant whether it be cultivated on the coast of RODOSTO and of ERÉCLI: I had no opportunity of visiting that country.

The culture of PRINKIPUS consists in a few fields sown with wheat, barley, chick-peas, kidney-beans, broad beans, &c. The vine is not there abundant; it is planted and trimmed as in the south of FRANCE: it yields two or three sorts of very good grapes, from which wine is seldom made. In this island the inhabitants prefer carrying the grapes to the markets of CONSTANTINOPLE, and there selling them.

Near the town are several gardens, in which are cultivated with no great skill a few kitchen-garden plants and fruit-trees, among which are distinguished a species of fig-tree with fruit greenish without, red within, and of an excellent quality.

This island has several times served as a prison or place of exile to the Greek princes. Among others we recall to mind that IRENE, a young Athenian woman, born of noble but obscure parents, raised to the throne by the charms of her mind and the graces of her person, set no bounds to her ambition, and stained herself by various crimes after the death of LEON PORPHYROGENETES, her husband. She was dethroned by NICEPHORUS, one of her confidants, and banished to a monastery of this island, which she herself had caused to be erected*.

* Some authors say that she was sent to Lesbos.

Our fowling-pieces procured us every day a considerable quantity of quails. We had excellent pointers, which enabled us to come very close to them before we put them up. They generally build their nests under the rock-rose, the prickly pimpinella, or other little shrubs; and as there are no trees in those places they are very easily shot. They are extremely fat and very well tasted; in the spring they are much more scarce and less savoury. We saw some other birds of passage, such as turtles, rollers, loriots, thrushes, &c. and in particular falcons and sparrow-hawks.

Hares are very scarce at PRINKIPOS, and rabbits are not there to be found; but the latter are in plenty in the little desert island which bears their name. We sometimes procured ourselves the pleasure of this diversion, and we always brought back several rabbits. It is necessary to arrive very early in the morning, and surprise them before they have re-entered their burrows.

Fishing afforded us still more resources than fowling: we were every day served with oysters, muscles, and several fishes, such as maclarel, bonito, turbot, and particularly the bearded muller. We several times found in the stomach of this last fish a very small species of sea-urchin which we have preserved, and which we shall publish among the other articles of natural history.

The run from the town of PRINKIPOS to that of CHALKIS is nearly a league, and caïques are always to be found ready to receive passengers. We had apprised the superior of the monastery of the TRINITY, of the day we should visit his convent and take a dinner with him, in order that we might not find him unprovided; for, in general, the caloyers are very temperate and their fare is very scanty. One is fortunate to find in their convent, honey, eggs, and some fruit. Strangers, in order to make a return for the civilities which they receive under their roof, never fail to visit the church, and to leave in a basin the pieces of money which they judge proper to give.

This

This monastery, situated on a hill almost in the middle of the island, enjoys a charming prospect: the air there is very salubrious, and it is not uncommon to find a numerous society, because Europeans and even Greeks frequently go thither to spend a part of the summer, far from the bustle and tumult of the capital. We stopped a long time to contemplate over the door of the church the representation of hell, purgatory, and paradise, although the painting was very bad. Hell was filled with Mussulmans, bishops, archbishops, and Greeks richly dressed; purgatory and paradise were peopled only by caloyers, papas, or priests, and Greeks more simply dressed. We asked the friars who accompanied us, if they were not afraid of some mischief on the part of the Turks for daunting them in this manner. They told us that this had happened to them once, but that they had got out of the scrape for a little money. They added, that they set a great value on their picture, and that they would preserve it as long as they could, without exposing themselves too much.

There is another monastery in the south-east part of the island, remarkable from several beautiful alleys of cypresses, and from a wood of pines, from a spacious building, and from the number of caloyers who reside there. The latter, though very agreeably situated, does not, like the other, enjoy so extensive and so diversified a prospect.

There are likewise two monasteries at ΠΙΝΚΙΠΟΣ, situated in the most elevated and the most solitary places in the island. The caloyers apply themselves to the culture of the fields belonging to their monastery, or to some branch of industry useful to the community. Their wants are very limited, because they have never allowed luxury to be introduced among them: their health is for a long time preserved strong and vigorous by moderate labour, temperance, and peace of mind; and what, perhaps, constitutes their greatest happiness,

happiness, is that the Turks do not come to disturb the repose and tranquillity which they enjoy in these places.

CHALKIS is less considerable than PRINKIPUS, and its village is a little less extensive; its productions are nearly the same, and the soil presents every where indications of a volcano. On the hill nearest the village is found a hard, brittle rock, which appears ferruginous; and, towards the south-east part of the island, a mine of copper which appears to have been anciently worked: it is probably from this circumstance that it derived the name of CHALKIS, from the Greek word χαλκος, which signifies copper: but we saw nothing that indicates the gold-mine of which ARISTOTLE and STEPHEN of BYSANTIUM have spoken.

If the Turks were capable of perceiving that it is easy to secure themselves from the plague by taking against that terrible scourge the precautions which are employed in EUROPE, the position of PRINCES' Islands would, no doubt, be invaluable for the accomplishment of that object, and for the security of the capital by sea: a lazaretto might be established at PROTA or at ANTIGONA, because those islands have very few inhabitants, and ships anchor there in great safety. In the former of those two islands exist also the ruins of a village and two monasteries, which attest that it is susceptible of some degree of culture, and that it may afford places for walking and recreation to persons who might be obliged to perform quarantine.

CHAPTER XI.

We enter a harem.—Marriage of the Mussulmans. —Polygamy.—Its results.—Influence of women in all affairs.

TWO days after our return from PRINCES' Islands, we were invited by a *capidgi-buchi* to embark on the BOSPHORUS, and proceed to visit his mother who had been ill for some time, in order to give our opinion to a Greek physician that attended her, and prescribe the treatment which we should judge the most proper. The envoy of the Republic, at whose house we were at that moment, warmly solicited us to render service to a man who enjoyed great influence with the Grand Signior, and who might be useful to the French established in the LEVANT. We acceded the more willingly to the entreaties of the envoy, as by obliging a man in power, we were enabled to satisfy our curiosity. In fact, for a long time past I had been wishing to see the interior of a Turkish family, and to carry an observing eye into the very harems, in order to learn the arrangements of them, and remark the customs which are there established. Physic frequently furnished me with this opportunity in the course of our travels, and put it in my power to see that, in spite of bolts and keepers, women will find means to be revenged for the tyranny of men.

An appointment was made for the next morning. We set out early, accompanied by a drogueman and a janizary belonging to the legation, and we arrived at the house of the *capidgi* at the same time as the Greek physician. We were received in a handsome kiosk, a sort of saloon open on the sides, ornamented with paintings, gilding, and Arabic sentences taken from the Koran. In the middle were a *jet d'eau*, and a basin of white marble:

on one side, was a view of the BOSPHORUS; and, on the other, that of a beautiful garden, and of part of the capidgi's house built with much elegance.

After the customary compliments, pipes and coffee were brought: we conversed for some time respecting his mother's disorder, and we learnt with surprise that the physician had found it a more easy matter to make his patient believe that she was bewitched, than to cure her. The capidgi then spoke to us of himself, and communicated to us his particular complaints: he lamented bitterly that he was no longer able, as formerly, to carry into his harem joy and pleasure. This man, forty odd years of age, was, in other respects, robust and of a strong constitution; he had sometimes abused the pleasures which he regretted, and was obliged to have recourse to an opiate composed of materials the most hot and most irritating, in order to discharge his duties of husband on the night from Thursday to Friday, according to the precept of MAHOMET.

After an hour's conversation, we went to the female patient. no servant followed us. The capidgi made us cross various apartments, the doors of which he himself opened and shut. We arrived at a hall rather spacious, surrounded on three sides by a sofa covered with a beautiful crin'on cloth, trimmed with gold fringe. On the floor were spread a fine Egyptian mat and a few little Persian carpets. The sick woman was in the middle of the room on a light mattress, surrounded by large cushions on which she was leaning. She had her clothes on, according to the custom of the Orientals, who do not undress themselves when they are ill, or when they lie down to sleep. When we entered her apartment, she wore, no doubt on our account, a white muslin veil, which she soon took off: two young female slaves were there to wait on her.

This woman, who was near sixty years old, had an excessive embonpoint; she was troubled with the vapours, and affected with a scrofulous complaint which made its appearance on different parts of her body. She was, in other respects, in tolerable health, and had preserved her appetite. She told us some very singular stories respecting her complaints, which she attributed, among other things, to a malicious female slave who had bewitched her, because she had refused to consent to her being married.

During this conversation, curiosity had attracted the capidgi's women behind a grate which separated the room we were in from that where they were. We saw lifted up, from time to time, a curtain which concealed them, and which they let down when we directed our looks towards them. The two slaves who were near us did not fail to make us feel their pulse, and to ask us various questions: they were young and very handsome; one of them, more bold, notwithstanding the severity of the sick woman, who several times reminded her of her indecorous behaviour, could not help putting her hands on our garments which she thought very extraordinary, and perhaps even indecent, from every part of the body being too apparent for persons accustomed, to see men only with garments very ample; and which conceal the whole body.

We prescribed to the patient a calming opiate and the use of the bitter-sweet or *solanum dulcamara*, which we had perceived in one of our excursions to a village beyond BELGRADE. The capidgi strongly pressed us to come and see him again; which we could not dispense with doing at the expiration of a few days.

When we had left the house, the Greek physician informed us that the harem of this man was composed of thirty Georgian and Circassian slaves, intended for waiting on his wife, a young princess to whom he was indebted for his interest and his fortune. It was since this marriage that the physi-

cian had brought him to the use of aphrodisiacs, and came pretty regularly to his house in order to inquire into their effect.

He likewise informed us of the Turkish laws relative to marriage, and communicated to us several curious observations which his quality of physician had enabled him to make in the harems. In the course of our travels, we ourselves have had opportunities of collecting observations respecting the Mussulman women, of studying their manners comparatively with those of the Greek and French women born in the LEVANT, and of rectifying the ideas which too great precipitation might at first have made us adopt. The reader will not perhaps be displeased with us for the efforts which we made in this respect.

In TURKEY, the law permits three manners of cohabiting with women. TOURNEFORT has said, with reason, that a man married the first, hired the second, and purchased the third.

The Mussulman women live very retired, and do not appear in public without a veil and garments which conceal their figure and disguise their whole body: there is no one but the husband and the nearest relations, such as the fathers, the brothers, and the uncle-germans, who sometimes have access to the harems, and can see a Mussulman woman with her face uncovered. The man who wishes to marry can be acquainted with the charms of the person and the attractions of the mind of his future wife, only from the account of some female relation or friend, or of some intermediatrix of an advanced age. Commonly the latter gives every information that is wanted, tries to smooth all difficulties which may arise, and prepares and arranges all matters. When the relations are agreed among themselves, they fix the sum that the husband shall give as a present to his wife for *the price of her blood*. An inventory is taken of every thing that belongs to the latter, in fur-

niture, clothes, money, or property, because every thing is to be restored to her in case of divorce or repudiation. When she dies without children, the husband keeps a part of what he has received, and returns the other to the relations, as is regulated by the law.

The preliminaries being settled, the future husband, the father or the nearest relation of the young lady, go, with two witnesses, to the house of the cadi, in order to get him to sign the articles of the marriage, and obtain a permission for it in writing. The celebration of the marriage cannot take place but on the eve of the Friday, which answers, among the Mussulmans, to the Sunday of the Christians, and to the Saturday of the Jews. One or two days before, the young lady is conducted to the bath, where she is subjected to depilation for the first time. On the day of the wedding, she dresses herself in the richest clothes that she can procure, and covers herself with jewels, pearls, and pieces of money which the relations very often borrow. They try to embellish the young lady's face, by colouring it with red, white, and blue, and by painting her eyebrows and eyelids black. In certain countries, they next colour the arms and hands with black, paint the nails yellow or black, and the feet an orange colour yellow: lastly, they place with art, on the head-dress and among the braids which hang behind, flowers, pearls, precious stones, and gold coin. In EGYPT and in SYRIA, these braids are very numerous and each is terminated by one or more sequins.

Thus adjusted and placed on a seat more elevated than the sofa, she is to compose her carriage, cast her eyes down or keep them shut, while a troop of women invited to the feast give themselves up to joy, and various dances are performed, the company singing or playing on different instruments.

At night, the female relations of the husband and some women invited by them come with flambeaus and a noisy band of music to the house of the

young lady, in order to take her to that of the husband. She goes out accompanied by her female relations and friends : the men do not follow her, but remain at their homes amusing themselves.

Being arrived at the husband's house, she is perfumed and placed on an elevated seat, prepared on purpose for her. All the women not belonging to the family go out a moment after, and there no longer remain any but the female relations of the contracted couple.

The bridegroom, during this time, is in another apartment, where his relations and some young men whom he has invited, perfume him, dress him in his richest clothes, and sing songs analogous to the ceremony.

A moment after, all the men, accompanied by their music, fall forth in order to proceed to the mosque. They say their prayers with the greatest composure, after which they come to the door of the husband's house, where he enters, accompanied only by his relations. While the husband is at the mosque, the bride is brought into the apartments that are intended for her. On returning from the mosque, the father of the husband, or any other relation the most advanced in years, leads by the hand the husband to his wife, presents him to her, and retires. There remains no one but the midwife or a female relation who serves up a supper to the husband, while the wife continues standing before him, in a very humble attitude. After supper, the latter presents to her husband a basin, water, and a towel, in order that he may wash and wipe himself: she then gives him a pipe and coffee, after which she herself sups. When she has supped, the midwife withdraws, and the married couple remain by themselves.

The next morning, the husband goes into another apartment, and, as soon as his back is turned, one of his female relations comes and spreads on the

the door of the room the drawers which the wife has worn during the night.

All the women present the preceding evening, more richly dressed, come to pay their compliments and give themselves up the whole day to joy. They must see the marks of virginity of the bride; the midwife must shew them the drawers stained with blood; after this ceremony, she folds them up, carefully puts them by, and deposits them in the hands of the mother of the bride or her nearest female relation.

The bride is to be that day in a modest attitude; she is to observe silence, keep her eyes cast down and remain quiet on the sofa, while all the women around her are abandoning themselves to joy.

The second manner of a man marrying one or several wives, distinguished by the name of *kapin*, consists in his presenting himself before the cadi, and binding himself to feed and maintain till a certain period, such a woman whom he designates and whose consent he has obtained: which is attested by her father or her nearest relation, and two witnesses; to take care of the children that she shall bear and to give up to her besides, at the time of repudiation or at the expiration of the term agreed on, a sum of money or clothes, effects and property stipulated and expressed. The children that proceed from these marriages, enjoy the same rights as the others, and remain at the charge of the father when he has repudiated or put away his wife.

It seldom happens that Mussulmans marry in this manner, because women of a certain rank would never consent to be united to a man on such conditions, and because the latter generally prefers to purchase slaves, rather than marry in the *kapin* manner with Mussulman women born of poor parents.

The traffic for slaves is very expressly prohibited to Jews and Christians, and is allowed only to Mussulmans. The law authorizes the latter to have whatever number of slaves they may desire, and submits them to no sort of formality. The children that they obtain are free, and share, like the others, in the division of their property after their death.

The law prohibits not Mussulmans from marrying a woman of a different religion, provided the parties bind themselves to bring up their children in the religion of the father; but it is expressly forbidden to women, unless the man embraces beforehand the religion of MAHOMET. It punishes with death a Jew or a Christian caught with a Mussulman woman, in a place or in such a manner as to cause the suspicion of a carnal intercourse. He cannot escape but by embracing the Mussulman religion and marrying this woman, if, however, she consent to this, and they both be unrestricted by the ties of wedlock. In the contrary case, the man is carried to execution; the woman escapes a punishment less severe only by declaring that she was forced or taken by surprise, or by denying that any thing improper passed between them.

If the woman be married, her fate depends on the husband: he may carry his revenge so far even as to punish her with death; but frequently the fear of her relations restrains his arm when ready to strike: he then contents himself with repudiating her.

It enters not into our plan to examine what were the motives which determined MAHOMET to allow four wives to the followers of his religion, independently of such a number of concubines as they could support. Has he wished to please one sex at the expense of the other? Has he thought by this means to obtain a greater population? In short, has he wished to sanction a custom which exists in ARABIA from time immemorial?

Polygamy offers inconveniences without number and so striking, that every one must be astonished that legislators should have permitted or tolerated it. The first of these inconveniences, and the greatest no doubt, is that it is prejudicial to the population of a State; it is that it favours pederasty; it is that several women cannot quietly share among them the pleasures, too seldom occurring, which the husband distributes to them: mistrust, jealousy, hatred, quarrels, must necessarily establish their empire in a harem and thence banish true pleasure.

It should seem, on the first view of the subject, that polygamy is favourable to population, for though the physical faculties of man are limited, he can, nevertheless, in a rather short space of time fecundify several women, and obtain a great number of children during the course of his life.

But as the number of women is nearly equal to that of men, it can only be at the expense of the poor that the rich take several of them: a man cannot have four wives, without three others being deprived of them; and, indeed, it will not be presumed that four women, shut up in a harem with a single man, sometimes old and infirm, can have the same number of children as when those women have each a husband, whose favours they alone enjoy.

The harems, it is true, are scarcely filled with any but foreign females, Georgian, Circassian, and Ethiopian slaves brought annually in the way of trade; but it brings also a greater number of male slaves; which must induce the supposition that, in general, the number of the men in TURKEY, is at least as great as that of the women. But what proves that polygamy is prejudicial to the population of that empire, is that, notwithstanding this great number of slaves of both sexes who come from European countries, from ASIA, and from AFRICA, the empire is becoming considerably depopulated, though there are no instances of emigration on the part of the Mussulmans;

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though, for a long time past, wars there are by no means frequent and by no means destructive. The population of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, on the contrary, is kept up, notwithstanding their emigration and the tyranny of the Turks in regard to them: but the former, as is well known, marry but one wife, and it is very expressly forbidden to them to have slaves and concubines; which is the reason that they marry early in life, and that few among them remain bachelors.

The state of inability in which a man finds himself to satisfy the desires of a great number of women, has suggested the idea of bolts, harems, and those unfortunate beings appointed to take care of them, deprived of the faculty of reproducing themselves. Jealousy, frequently atrocious, has caused adultery to be punished with death; and the government has thought itself bound, not only strictly to oppose libertinism by separating the two sexes, but also to deal very severely with girls or women convicted of amorous intrigues. This severity in regard to morals, this separation of the two sexes, and above all the total privation of women experienced by a great number of individuals, has introduced in the EAST a passion for boys, a passion reprobated by the philosopher, held in abhorrence by the legislator, and far more immoral, far more infamous than the illegal intercourse of the two sexes, from which, besides, there results no advantage to society.

Through an inconsistency worthy of remark, the law, which always lays under contribution, which sometimes punishes with death the man who gives way to a natural inclination, who obeys the imperious voice of Nature, tolerates however, and seems to permit a vice which bespeaks a total depravity of morals. The Mussulmans, very austere in other respects, give themselves up without shame to the taste which misleads them, and the habit of which they have contracted in the early part of their life. Very far from blushing at this vice, they make it serve for the gratification of their vanity, and shew
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with pride the object of their affections. This passion is become so strong among them, that they endeavour to satisfy it by every possible means, and very frequently employ violence. Among other instances, one occurred at SMYRNA, where a European sailor, upwards of sixty years of age, was killed and violated by three janizaries, without there being a possibility of obtaining their just punishment.

Prostitutes are neither allowed nor tolerated: the government sometimes deals very rigorously with those who are of the Mussulman religion. It is not uncommon for some of them to be laid hold of during the night, and, after they have been tied up in a sack with some stones, for them to be thrown alive into the sea, towards the point of the seraglio; and yet one frequently meets in the streets of CONSTANTINOPLE Greek youths, dressed in an effeminate manner, announcing by their carriage that they are ready to abandon themselves to whoever will pay them.

Notwithstanding the customs of the country, these youths preserve their hair, take the greatest care of it, wash it every day, perfume it with musk, amber, and essence of roses, and adorn it with the flowers of the season. An artificial red colours their cheeks, an ebony black is placed on their eye-brows and eye-lids, in order to animate their eyes and form a contrast with the fairness of their complexion. To all the natural charms of the body, they generally join those of the mind, and not unfrequently they borrow the attractions of music and dancing.

Although the law allows Mussulmans to have four wives, yet few among them have more than one, because they lead to considerable expense; because, shut up in the same harem, they cannot live together in harmony; they perplex the husband with their complaints, or plague him with their pretensions. Besides, almost every woman, on her marriage, requires an obli-

tion from the husband, not to wed another in her life-time or as long as she shall not have been separated by a divorce. But she cannot prevent him from purchasing white or black slaves, according to his taste and his means; and provided he lie with his wife once a week, according to the obligation which MAHOMET has imposed on every Mussulman still young and in good health; provided he furnish her wherewith to clothe and maintain herself according to her condition, and to go to the bath when she has been polluted by him or by the indispositions natural to her sex, she cannot sue for a divorce. But what is, perhaps, more grievous, she neither is justified in complaining that the husband is frequently parsimonious of a pleasure which she claims, and of which he is prodigal towards some Georgian or Circassian male slave.

But if he wished to require from his wife the same indulgences that he is accustomed to obtain from his male slaves, she is authorized to present herself before the cadi, in order to demand of him the punishment of the husband and even a divorce; this the judge grants if she be seconded by her relations, and if, besides, the reputation of the husband give to the complaint an air of truth; and, in order to spare this woman the shame of declaring such a circumstance in presence of the whole tribunal, she is to have recourse to a sign agreed on, and confine herself to turning over her slippers.

In no case, can the husband require any thing from the slaves that belong to the wife: he has a right only over those that he himself has purchased. It very seldom happens that he forgets himself in this respect, because the wife would not fail to prefer her complaint and cause him to be punished.

When a man wishes that peace and happiness should dwell under his roof, he confines himself solely to his wife; or if he take any liberty in regard to the

female slaves that he has purchased to wait on her, he recommends to them to preserve towards her the greatest respect and submission. He endeavours to persuade them that she is ignorant of the love which he has for them; and the wife, on her side, wishing to preserve peace in the family, pretends to be ignorant of the infidelity of the husband, and submits with less pain to the privation to which he condemns her, being indemnified by the empire which she continues to exercise over her slaves.

But when a Turk marries several wives who have all the same rights and the same pretensions, it is very rare that preferences do not lead to jealousies and quarrels; it is very rare that they see with coolness one of themselves receive more frequently marks of attachment, without giving vent to their complaints. And however impartial the husband may be in the distribution of his favours, they all will tax him with injustice, all will believe or pretend to believe their rivals more fortunate, and the husband more eager to please them.

It is much worse if disgust keep him at a distance from his wives, and lead him entirely towards his female slaves; and if the latter, abusing the weakness of the husband, take advantage and grow proud of the favours which they receive; if they appear less submissive and less respectful, then peace cannot be re-established but by the dismissal of these inconsiderate slaves and the sincere return of the husband towards the wives.

From this arrangement of Turkish families, it is seen that the wife has an eye on the female slaves, because she would be very glad to find them in fault in order to set the husband against them; and the slave who shares the bed of the husband, is the most dangerous Argus for the wife: the latter never goes out without being accompanied by the other; which renders infidelity rather uncommon.

Some women, in the indigent class of the people, give themselves up to men with tolerable facility for money, and in spite of the severity of the government. Among the rich, there are in TURKEY, as in EUROPE, amorous intrigues: but in a country where a woman seldom goes out, where she is surrounded by the female relations of the husband and by female slaves interested in watching her, it is evident that these intrigues present an infinite number of difficulties to be surmounted, and obstacles to be overcome, which render them less common. Almost always the woman makes the first advances; does she perceive a good-looking man, a man who pleases her, she sets a matron to work, and informs herself of every thing that can interest her. Is she certain that the man answers her passion? A party is arranged; she goes out with her usual retinue, and proceeds to the house of a female relation or friend, or to that of some female slave made free and married: thence she repairs, under various pretexts, to the house of another female slave, or to that of some Jewess, sometimes to a third, alone or accompanied by some trusty person. There it is that the man has been introduced, frequently disguised as a woman. Parties are in this manner renewed as often as circumstances may permit, without incurring too much danger. Advantage is taken of the husband's absence or of the moment of prayer at the mosque. When the woman is sure of her slaves, which is very seldom the case, she can introduce a man into the harem; but woe be to those who are discovered, almost always death ensues.

The bath may also serve as a place of rendezvous, when with money a man may rely on the discretion of the persons who have charge of them, and when he is certain of not being disturbed by them.

There are in CONSTANTINOPLE and in the great cities, Jewesses and Armenian women who carry into the harems valuable stuffs, jewels, perfumes, baubles, and comfits to be purchased; the greater part of them are skilful
matrons,

matrons, through whose hands pass all amorous intrigues. Every one knows that love watched or laid under constraint is inventive, and that it very frequently finds means to conceal itself from the vigilance of keepers. As no secret conversations can be held without exciting suspicion, and as the Turkish women seldom can write, these matrons keep up correspondences by the arrangement of the flowers of a nosegay, by the disposition of different colours, or of any other sign agreed on.

It is above all in SYRIA and in EGYPT that the art of expressing ideas by means of flowers is carried to such a pitch, that the most active correspondence may take place between two lovers, without awakening the attention of jealousy, without attracting the looks of overseers.

The influence which Turkish women have over public affairs, in the nomination of the agents of the government, and in the distribution of favours and punishments, is much more considerable than might be presumed, from their retired manner of living. The harems are the places of rendezvous inaccessible to men *, where the most interesting anecdotes of the town and of the provinces pass successively in review, where the most curious news are spread, where plots and conspiracies are framed. Women of every age and every rank come thither to solicit graces and favours for their husbands or their relations, or in order to complain of a husband too jealous, too severe, and demand protection against him, or against some person of weight. An affair often passes through the channel of several women before it arrives at its destination: an emancipated female slave, or woman of the lowest class of the

* The husband never enters his wife's apartment when she is with female strangers. This custom is very scrupulously observed.

people, sometimes obtains through her patronesses such an interest, that her protection is sought after from all quarters.

The Mussulman women support each other, and are always ready to make a common cause. They are implacable in their resentment, and seldom fail to revenge themselves for an outrage or an offence at all serious. Their influence is increased by that which a favourite slave or the Sultana-Validai generally obtains over the sultan.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Georgian and Circassian women.—Of slavery.—We enter the market of female slaves.—Custom of the women in regard to suckling and sterility.—Of the harems and baths.

THROUGHOUT the EAST much is said in praise of the beauty of the Georgian and Circassian women, slaves brought to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there sold, while young, and thence scattered all over TURKEY, in order to serve in the harems or produce children to their masters. These women, from the account which has been given us of them by the female christians of the country who frequent them, and from the small number of those whom the practice of physic has afforded us an opportunity to see, have European features : almost all are fair with dark hair ; some have flaxen or light brown hair ; all are finely proportioned when they are young ; but they generally acquire, through repose, good living, and the frequent use of baths, an embonpoint which constitutes the delight of the Turks, and which, nevertheless, exceeds the limits of beautiful proportion.

The Turks have nearly the same ideas of the beauty of women, as the Europeans, except that, in general, they prefer the fair with dark hair, and those with light brown to the flaxen, and excessive embonpoint to thinness : it may even be said that women in good health and plump please them much better than those whose shape is slender, whose person and limbs are pliant, and not very fleshy.

One must not be surpris'd that these women are, in general, very well made, since they are the choice of all that is most beautiful among those that are sold in the Turkish markets, by the parents themselves. But what must excite astonishment, is that avarice should overcome religious prejudices; that a father and mother, at the sight of gold, should shut their heart to tenderness and to the sweetest affections; that they should abandon and give up without remorse a child, to be brought up in a different religion and serve for the pleasures of whoever will purchase her. And the christian priests of that country endure and permit this infamous traffic for a few prayers and some alms, so true it is, according to them, *that there is a way of accommodating matters with heaven.*

The price of these slaves, in the markets of CONSTANTINOPLE, varies like that of all merchandize, and is regulated according to their number and that of the purchasers. They commonly cost from 500 to 1000 piastres, that is from 1000 to 2000 livres. But a female slave of a rare beauty amounts to an excessive price without there being a necessity for exposing her to sale, because most of the rich men are always ready to make pecuniary sacrifices in order to procure such for themselves. The men in place and the ambitious are likewise eager to purchase them in order to lay them at the feet of their sovereign or present them to their protectors, and place about them women who, being indebted to them for their elevation, may endeavour through gratitude to contribute to that of their former masters.

In no case does a female slave shew herself naked to him who wishes to purchase her: this is contrary to Ottoman decorum and manners; but when she is marriageable, it frequently happens that the purchaser sends a matron of his acquaintance to examine her, and ascertain whether she be a virgin.

A person would have a false idea of slavery among the Turks and the Persians, were he to judge of it from that which the Europeans have established in their colonies, and above all from the accounts of the unfortunate captives of the coast of BARBARY, who have been made to undergo harsh treatment, and been tormented, in a thousand ways in order to oblige them to embrace the Mussulman religion. In TURKEY and in PERSIA, slaves of both sexes, commonly purchased before the age or the period of puberty, are brought up in the religion of MAHOMET, and treated with the same kindness and almost with the same respect as the sons of the family. It seldom happens that a Turk sells again a slave with whom he is dissatisfied; he contents himself with threatening him and even with punishing him as he would punish a son. After a servitude more or less long, according as this Mussulman is a more or less exact observer of the precepts of MAHOMET, who fixes the period of slavery to nine years, he gives him his liberty, and marries him: almost always, at his death, his slaves become free, whether he may have been able to dictate his will, or because the heirs consider it their duty to follow his intention in this respect.

When a master is a man of weight and attaches himself to any of his slaves, he neglects nothing for their education and advancement. For that purpose he employs his interest and his fortune, as he would do in regard to his own son; and it must be confessed that, in general, these slaves are more attached to their masters and serve them better, whether in their houses, or in battle, than their servants.

No one is ignorant, that, in TURKEY, the art of pleasing a master, intelligence, boldness, and lastly money, lead to every thing, and carry a man rapidly to the first employments. Most of the pachas and great men of the empire, raised by fortune and intrigue, from the rank of slave or of simple private person to that which they occupy, are for all the Turks a spur ever

active which animates and encourages them. In all administrative and military places, talents are held in no estimation; they are almost always useless, and even frequently dangerous.

The prejudices of EUROPE, in regard to birth, not being known in the LEVANT, most of the Turks marry, without difficulty, their slaves, or give them in marriage to their sons. In like manner they give, without repugnance, their daughters in marriage to the male slaves with whom they are pleased; they grant them their freedom and procure them commissions, employments, or give them money to undertake a trade or exercise a profession.

The prisoners whom the fate of war throws into the hands of the Turks, if they be not exchanged immediately after the battle, which is very seldom the case, or if they be not massacred, which more frequently happens, are slaves, and belong to those who have taken them. They are sometimes carried to a considerable distance from the theatre of war, and there sold, in order that they may not make their escape, nor be exchanged. Those slaves, of more advanced age than the others, frequently refuse to renounce their religion; which is the reason that they do not then enjoy the same advantages as the Mussulman slaves, and that they are treated with less kindness. They are employed in the roughest and most degrading labours, and cannot hope to be set at liberty but by paying a ransom; which to them is almost always impossible, for they seldom have the means of communicating their situation to their family, and if they were sufficiently industrious to earn a little money, and economical enough to keep it, they would infallibly be stripped by their masters or by the other slaves, because a Mussulman thinks himself not bound to observe, in regard to a Christian or a Jew, an honest line of conduct in which he would be ashamed to fail towards a man of his own religion.

We have said that the traffic for slaves was forbidden to the Jews and Christians who inhabit *TURKEY*. No one is suffered to enter the bazar where women are exposed to sale, but Mussulmans who present themselves to purchase them. Europeans cannot be introduced there without a firman of the sultan, which is granted only to the ambassadors and agents of foreign powers, when they are on the eve of quitting the Ottoman Empire. A few days before our departure we with pleasure availed ourselves of the firman which Citizen *CARRA SAINT CYR* obtained, in order to satisfy our curiosity in that respect. In company with him we saw the monuments escaped from barbarism, time, and fire, the principal mosques, the mad-houses, the menagerie, and the market for female slaves. But whether the traders, apprized of our arrival, had made them retire, or whether this was not the season when they are most numerous, we found few slaves in the bazar, and among those that we saw, the greater part were veiled and shut up in their rooms; so that we could not see them but for a moment through a window which was by the side of the door.

We stopped to contemplate three of them who struck us by their beauty and the tears which they shed. They were tall, well made, and scarcely fifteen years of age; one of them, with her head and left arm resting against the wall, vented sobs which wrung us to the heart. Nothing could divert her from her profound grief: her companions, leaning the one against the other, were holding each other by the hand while we surveyed them. They cast on us looks which, doubtless, expressed their regret at having lost their liberty, at being torn from the arms of a too cruel father and mother; at having been separated, perhaps, from those with whom love and hymen were to unite their fate.

The traders, imbued with ridiculous prejudices, fear the mischievous look of Christians and Europeans: a woman cannot be seen by them without

being depreciated, without running the risk of being affected by their malignant influence. Besides, these female slaves, still christians, may according to these traders, fall suddenly in love with a man of their own religion, and attempt to make their escape. They likewise fear that the too great affliction into which the slaves are plunged by every thing that recalls to their mind recollections extremely dear, may occasion them to fall sick or bring on a melancholy that may affect their health.

The building has nothing remarkable, and does not correspond with the beauty of the caravansaries, which it resembles in point of form and construction, nor to that of most of the bazars of the capital. You see a suite of small naked chambers, which receive the light only by a door and a little grated window, placed on one side. It is into one of these rooms that the unfortunate creatures who belong to the same trader are crowded: there it is that each waits till fate throws her into the hands of a man young or old, robust or infirm, mild or passionate, good or bad, in order that she may become his wife or his concubine, or wait on the women of his harem.

The negresses whom commerce draws annually from ETHIOPIA and NUBIA, are brought up, as well as the white female slaves, in the religion of MAHOMET, and treated with the same kindness as the others; but being more particularly intended for the service of the harems, it seldom happens that they share the bed of their master. After a few years' service, the greater part of them are married to white slaves. Being both at liberty, to the husband is given wherewith to set up a little shop, or exercise a profession which may provide for their maintenance. Frequently they are kept in the house without being liberated, the wife serves, in case of necessity, as a wet-nurse to the children of her mistress, and continues her service in the harem: the husband remains about the person of his master, and performs the same service as before;

he follows him in his walks, in his expeditions, and in the journies which his trade renders necessary.

As for the negroes, more unfortunate, perhaps, than those of the WEST-INDIA colonies, mutilated early in life, they are almost all employed in the care of the women of the sultan and of those belonging to the great men of the empire. True it is that some of them obtain a distinguished rank, extensive power, and considerable riches ; but can they be happy, when they know that the method of pleasing their master, is to displease the women intrusted to their charge ? Can they be happy, when they are obliged to live with women quite young, quite beautiful, from whom they never obtain a look of good-will, and whose aspect incessantly reminds them of the idea of their impotence and nullity ?

In the EAST, the women have not yet suspected that the method to preserve longer their bloom, and enjoy without interruption the fascinating pleasures of society, was to withdraw themselves from duties the most sacred, by delivering into the hands of a hireling the precious pledges of their marriage. They find the caresses of the infant that they nourish with their milk, far more sweet, far more agreeable than the smile of a perfidious and corrupt world. If their mode of life is more simple, less tumultuous, if their pleasures are less lively, less striking, they are amply indemnified by the calm of the senses, by the peace of mind, and by the health which they preserve, and by that which they transmit to their children. In the EAST, they are scarcely acquainted with that multitude of disorders occasioned by the dispersion of milk, those lacteous indurations and secretions which afflict so many European women, and carry them off in the flower of their age.

If through any extraordinary cause a woman lose her milk, and find herself obliged to have recourse to a strange nurse, she receives her into her
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house, and causes her to be treated with the same respect and the same attention that she herself receives. Whether Mussulman or Christian, it depends on this foster-mother no longer to abandon the infant that she has fed with her milk, to continue towards it her maternal care, and to receive all her life, from it or from its parents, marks of the most lively gratitude: it depends on her, in a word, to be incorporated in the family, and to be there considered and respected as a second mother.

Through a luxury advantageous to the indigent, from which, besides, no inconvenience results, most of the opulent mothers, in the intention of preserving their embonpoint, of reposing more quietly during the night, and of giving a more abundant nourishment to their children, place about them a second nurse charged with the most laborious functions, to suckle them during the night, to amuse them, and divert their attention during the day: but the mother does not, on that account, think herself exempted from watching over the health of her child, from feeding it with her milk, from providing for all the wants that it appears to have, and from bestowing on it all the care that its age and weakness require.

Throughout the EAST, sterility of women is considered as one of the greatest misfortunes that can happen to them; independently of a barren woman not obtaining the consideration which she would have enjoyed as mother of a family, she finds herself almost always neglected by her husband; she sees him pass into the arms of another woman; she is obliged to subscribe to the divorce which he demands, and, to complete her misfortunes, she can scarcely ever, in such a case, find a second husband. Besides, sterility presents with it the idea of an imperfection in the organs, which humiliates her who is the object of it.

When the signs of pregnancy do not manifest themselves a few months after marriage, the wife, in her impatience never fails to address herself to matrons and to physicians, in order to ask them for some beverage, some particular recipe that may facilitate and hasten the moment of conception. The former prepare pessaries in which are contained the hottest and most irritating substances, such as musk, amber, bezoar, aloes, cardamom, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, &c. They at the same time cause most of these drugs to be taken as an opiate or mixed with aliments, at the risk of producing some inflammation or some other disorder more or less dangerous.

Unless the number of children be already considerable, or the fortune of the husband be deranged, if the wife, still young, after one or more lyings-in, find too great an interval before she be pregnant, she has recourse to the same means, and she employs the same drugs. The Greek women, besides, less devout and more superstitious than the Mussulman females, make offerings to the *Panagia* *, send a wax-taper to the church, cause masses to be said, and invoke the male and female saints of paradise in whom they have most confidence.

The houses of the Mussulmans are disposed in such a manner that the lodging of the women is always separated from that of the men: the former is called *harem*, or sacred place, and the latter *selamluk*, or habitation of the man. At the houses of the great, there are two piles of building which communicate with each other by intermediate apartments, of which the husband alone has the keys. Access to the harem is strictly forbidden to men; the male servants and slaves never enter it; and the male relations themselves are never admitted, except it be on the two grand festivals of the year, and on the occasion of weddings, lyings-in, or circumcision.

* Παρνακη, all holy; thus it is that the Greeks call the mother of Christ.

Commonly the harem has no windows towards the street, or if there be any, they are lofty, and grated in such a manner that one cannot see from without what is passing within. In the countries where every house has its terrace or flat roof, there are walls of separation which cannot be passed, and which prevent all communication.

We frequently experienced difficulties in the course of our travels, when we wished to ascend to elevated places in order to have a view of a town and judge of its extent, because the inhabitants were afraid that our object was to observe the women who were walking in their gardens, or taking the air on the terrace of their houses. It has frequently happened, on these occasions, that Turks have fired musket-shots at Europeans whose intentions appeared to them suspicious.

The wife of a certain rank, when young, goes very little from home, because it is not fashionable for her to appear in the streets although veiled, because the law exempts her from going to the mosque, because she has in her own house baths which she uses at pleasure, and because she is surrounded by female slaves who watch over her, and female relatives who counteract her inclinations. To please her husband, to detain him in the harem as long as his affairs permit, to take care of her children, to occupy herself with her dress, and very little with her family, to pray at the hours prescribed by religion, and to pass a part of the day without doing any thing, another in smoking, drinking coffee, receiving female friends, relations, or women under her protection, such are the duties and pleasures of a Mussulman woman. She seldom can read and scarcely ever write; she has learnt to sew and embroider, prepare comfits and dainties, and make sherbet; but she finds it more pleasant to do nothing, to remain quiet on her sofa, and roll between her fingers a chaplet of coral or agate. She considers it as a delightful enjoyment to hold from time to time a dish of coffee in one hand, a pipe in the other, and

to carry them alternately to her mouth, at the same time inhaling the vapour of the one, and retaining as long as possible that of the other ; what afterwards gratifies her the most, is to have it in her power to display to the eyes of the women whom she receives, some rich trinkets and a robe of great value.

A Mussulman is very poor if he have not several slaves to wait on his wife, and the latter is very unskilful if she do not soon convert into dresses and trinkets the greatest part of the husband's fortune. This extraordinary and preposterous conduct, especially in the mother of a family, appears to me to arise naturally from the laws and customs established in TURKEY. It is well known that the sovereign has the right to confiscate, to the benefit of the imperial treasury, the inheritance of the agents that he has employed, and that, in this case, the property of the wife is always respected. Besides, when a divorce takes place between a married couple, the wife keeps her jewels and her wardrobe, independently of the other effects stipulated in the contract of marriage.

The wife takes her meals alone, or with the mother and the female relations of the husband, who are with her in the harem. He eats with his father and the male relations who live with him, and when he is alone or causes himself to be served in the harem, which frequently happens, even the wife does not eat with him ; she waits on him, or sees that the slaves are attentive in waiting on him. The meal being finished, the hands and mouth washed and wiped, she herself presents him the pipe and coffee.

When there are several wives, each has her household, her table, her apartments, and her slaves in the same pile of building. It is very uncommon for a second woman, or slave, to be lodged in another house ; this scarcely happens except among the chiefs of caravans, who, obliged to live half

of the year in one town, and the other half in another, with to have a wife in each of those two towns.

No religious precept is more scrupulously followed; no law is more rigorously executed, in any religion and among any people, than ablutions and washings in TURKEY. Before the five prayers of the day, before and after meals, at every stool, whenever he has been touched by any impure body, the Mussulman must purify himself by partial ablutions. But when he has cohabited with a woman or has experienced a simple pollution, he is submitted to a general washing; and the woman, besides, is obliged to obey this custom after her lying-in and at the end of the indispositions natural to her sex. Thence those ablutions almost continual and those frequent vapour-baths with which no one dispenses, of which all have made themselves a want, and in which both sexes find a delicious charm.

What inclines the women to wish for baths with the most lively eagerness, is that they there make themselves amends for the constraint to which the laws and customs have subjected them. It is at the baths that they meet, and make appointments with each other; there it is that they see each other with familiarity, that they converse without constraint, and give themselves up to the sweetest voluptuousness. There it is that the rich women can display, with the greatest minuteness, their most splendid attire, and their most costly garments. There they are served with pure mocha, exquisite restoratives, and sumptuous collations. There they lavish essences and perfumes; and the entertainment is frequently terminated by music, dances, and the *ombres Chinoises*: but, on those occasions, the bath is shut to the public for the whole day.

The poor women, almost without any expense, there find pleasures less noisy indeed, but perhaps as warmly felt. Common coffee, common sherbet,

no other perfume than tobacco, dainties which they themselves bring, and some fruits of the season : this is to restore the body and gratify the senses. Their vanity is flattered at displaying a fine shift, clean drawers, decent clothes, necklaces, chains, and other ornaments in sequins. In short, they no longer have any thing to wish for when they have undergone complete depilation, when their locks are arranged, their braids plaited, their eyelids and eyebrows painted black, and the nails of their hands and feet of an orange colour yellow.

CHAPTER XIII.

Excursion to the fresh waters.—Review of a Turkish army.—Origin of the revolt of Pafwan Oglou.—Historical summary of the events which have taken place to the present day.

TWO leagues from CONSTANTINOPLE, in ascending the small river which discharges its waters into the head of the harbour, is an agreeable and solitary walk, the only one embellished by art. The sultan goes thither sometimes in summer to spend the day with a numerous suite : frequently Europeans go thither on parties of pleasure, at the same time, however, taking the precaution to have every thing carried that is necessary for them ; for the Turks, not being in the habit of walking, nor of frequenting this spot, have not even thought of establishing there a coffee-house.

On quitting the harbour, you leave behind you CONSTANTINOPLE ; you see on the left the village of AIJUB, where the sultana-mother has just caused a mosque and a sepulchral chapel to be built in order to repose in it after her death : you perceive on the right a Turkish coffee-house, in front of which is a place shaded by fine trees, under which Turkish and Armenian women sometimes seat themselves, to drink coffee, and smoke their pipe. You enter into a fertile valley, confined between two schistose hills, naked and uncultivated ; the river which flows in the middle, is broad, deep, and tranquil at its mouth ; it becomes narrow in proportion as you advance. All the surface of this valley consists of natural meadows, on which herds of oxen graze during the whole year.

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You soon arrive in front of the kiosk of the great equerry *Buyuk-imbrohor*, situated* on the left bank of the river: you pass under a wooden bridge erected there for communications, and you arrive by the side of the palace of the Grand Signior. Beyond this palace, built with some degree of elegance, the river is received into a broad canal, whence it falls in cascades on steps of white marble: it forms various sheets of water, and afterwards returns to its bed. Some fine trees shade this place, worthy of figuring beside the most beautiful gardens of EUROPE. One only regrets that the two hills which bound the valley, are not cultivated, and adorned with country-houses; they would add to the embellishment of this spot, if they presented, in the form of an amphitheatre, the vine, various fruit-trees, and some fields laid down in corn.

On the 20th of Germinal year VI, (9th of April 1798,) we went with the French legation and different citizens, to see in this valley the filing off of the remainder of the army which sultan SELIM was sending against PASWAN OGLU, ayam of WIDIN, for a long time past in rebellion against the PORTE. Already had fifteen or twenty thousand Asiatic troops continued their route for ADRIANOPLE, the general rendezvous of the army. There still remained from five to six thousand men encamped at OK-MAÏDAM, who were to file off before the sultan. The captain-pacha, appointed *feraskier* or general of the army, was to be admitted to kiss the feet of his highness, and receive the pelisse of honour. We had a curiosity to see this ceremony, and to learn at the same time the order and disposition of a Turkish army.

At eight o'clock in the morning, we went to embark at TOP-HANA: the day was fine; we enjoyed the sight always more beautiful, always more enchanting, presented, on one side, by the seraglio, and on the other, by GALATA, PERA, and the different villages which are confounded with the forest
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of cypresses : we ranged along the numerous tiers of merchant-vessels anchored off GALATA ; we saw, as we passed, the arsenal and the ships of the navy ; we counted twenty sail of the line, fourteen or fifteen of which were in good condition, and as many frigates or sloops of war : we stopped for a moment to view LAMBRO's flotilla, which the French frigate the *MODESTE*, commanded by Captain VENEL, had destroyed in 1792. It took us near an hour to arrive at the head of the harbour and enter the river which we have before mentioned.

We quitted our caïques in front of the house of the great equerry. Already were the hills covered with spectators : a part of the sultan's household was arrived, and the pages were exercising themselves in the meadow, in throwing the djerid. The army had advanced towards the declivity of the hill, and was now waiting only for the order of departure. All the colours were displayed, and martial music was heard from time to time.

At ten o'clock, arrived Sultan SELIM in a superb caïque, and placed himself in the kiosk of his equerry : we were within twenty paces of him, under the shade of an ash, on the opposite bank of the river. A moment after, the order was given, and the troops filed off. They descended by the hill of the left bank of the river, passed over a wooden bridge at a little distance from the kiosk, followed the road made at the foot of the hill on the right bank, and went to encamp for three days two leagues from this place, in the environs of a farm known by the name of DAOUT-PACHA.

We saw pass in succession companies of cavalry of *délis*, of *zaïms*, of *timarists*, of *sélictars*, and of *spahis*, armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre. After them came a company of horsemen armed with lances : like those who went first, they had their sabre and their pistols. Each company was preceded by one or two colours, and followed by a great number of

facas

facas or water-carriers. The horses on which these *facas* were mounted, had two large leather-bottles full of water, for the wants of the company.

What had a rather bad effect among this chosen troop, was that the muskets were of different form and calibre: the horsemen were irregularly clothed: many among them were in rags and ill mounted, while some others were better dressed, better mounted, and better armed. The officers were distinguished by the beauty of their horses, by the richness of the trappings, and by the footmen who preceded them.

The company of flying artillery in uniform, tolerably well mounted, having with it forty pieces of cannon, made a more warlike appearance: it was composed of young men strong and vigorous: their look, their skill, and their manœuvres did honour to the French officers who instructed them.

After these we saw pass some other troops of cavalry, and then eighty flags of different colours. There remained all the household of the general, two European carriages, and two litters, when HUSSEIN-pacha appeared on horseback, followed by two bofangees and a tchocadar on foot: he crossed the meadow, and, having arrived within a little distance of the kiosk, he alighted: he was immediately surrounded by the pages of the sultan and conducted to the audience-chamber. He approached his highness, kissed the skirt of his garment, and placed himself at a little distance from him, on his knees, seated on his heels, with his hands on his thighs, concealed by the large sleeves of his robe. All the pages left the hall: there remained only three mutes to wait. The conference lasted half an hour; after which HUSSEIN again kissed the skirt of his highness's robe, and was clothed with a superb pelisse by some pages who entered for that purpose.

HUSSEIN came down from the kiosk, remounted his horse, returned by a semi-circle, and presented himself before the sultan, leant down to the stirrup of the right foot, and went away, accompanied by the three persons with whom he had come.

The troops had halted during this conference ; but the military music had not ceased to play : it was composed of trumpets, tymbals, tymbalons, and drums different from those of EUROPE.

The household of the pacha filed off in good order : it was remarkable for the beauty of the horses, the richness of the trappings, and the dress of the horsemen : we saw pass his tchiaoux, his tchocadars, his secretaries and clerks, a troop of galiondgis, and, lastly, his carriages and litters. Three horsemen carried, among the colours, on a sort of pike, three horses' tails which designated his rank. The pacha next made his appearance, followed by the principal officers of his household and by some general officers belonging to his army : a numerous company of sacas closed this march.

We remarked in all the companies, people tolerably well mounted, whose cap of a conical form, was covered on the outside with tin and little bells. We were informed that their function is to gallop into the ranks in order to make the soldiers dress, to excite them to battle, and to stop the runaways.

In EUROPE, people have spoken too variously of PASWAN OGLOU, and have been too little acquainted with the origin of his revolt, for us to pass over in silence the accounts which we have collected respecting him.

OGLOU, in Turkish, signifies son : PASWAN OGLOU, that is, son of PASWAN. The father was ayan or notable of WIDIN : he was rich, and enjoyed great consideration among his fellow citizens. He commanded a troop
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of volunteers in the last war of the Turks against the Russians and Germans. It is thought that his reputation and above all his riches, induced the grand visir, then seraskier of the army, to cause him to be apprehended, and his head to be cut off.

PASWAN OGLOU was apprehended with his father, and detained for some time, after which he obtained his liberty and a slender part of the property which he ought to have possessed. He retired to WIDIN, meditating signal vengeance, not only for the death of his father, but also for the injustice committed in regard to himself. It was not long before an opportunity presented itself, and like a man still more able than angry, he found means to derive from events the purpose most suitable to his projects.

Under the reigns of MUSTAPHA III. and ABDUL HAMID, companies of gunners and bombardiers had been formed at CONSTANTINOPLE: some batteries had been erected at the entrance of the HELLESPONT and of the BOSPHORUS: in the arsenal, a school of navigation had been established by the side of that for mathematics; the government turned their thoughts towards the navy, they wished, in a word, to repair the losses occasioned by the successive defeats of the Ottoman armies; but they were very far from having attained that object when SELIM III. ascended the throne. Extremely alive to the loss of the CRIMEA, one of the granaries of CONSTANTINOPLE; painfully affected to see himself threatened in the very heart of the capital, the first movement of SELIM was to give a new impulse to those establishments; his first looks were directed towards the navy; his most ardent wishes were to organize by degrees an army in imitation of that of his enemies; and less jealous of his authority, than of the prosperity of his dominions and of the success of his arms, he created a council composed of twelve persons capable of enlightening and seconding his beneficent views. He at

the same time established an impost the produce of which he appropriated to the new military establishments.

The superiority of the European arms and the inappreciable advantage resulting from tactics, were acknowledged by a few Mussulmans, whom genius and education raised above prejudices; but it was difficult to still the clamours of a great number of persons to whom these projects gave offence: it was difficult to get them adopted by an ignorant people who consider as criminal the innovations which are transmitted them by those whom they call infidels: it was much more difficult, perhaps, to prevent the effect of corruptive gold on the greatest personages of the empire.

The janizaries had lost that ancient energy which had so long rendered them formidable: there was no longer seen among them those boylangees inured to the labours of the earth, capable of braving the inclemency of the seasons; those slaves, those children of tribute, who, neither knowing their parents nor their country, served with enthusiasm and zeal the religion which they had embraced, and the master who paid them. At this day, mutinous and undisciplined, without energy and without courage, more formidable to the authority of the sovereign than to the enemies of the State, to replace them by an intelligent and disciplined standing army, presented incalculable advantages. The sultan, from that moment, would have been less exposed to the agitations and movements of an irritated populace; he would have been incessantly able to dispose of his forces, to carry them to the frontiers in order to repel the enemy, or into the interior to apprehend a rebel, subdue a revolted province, or destroy an army of robbers; he could augment his forces, or reduce them according to the exigencies of the State.

The janizaries, extremely numerous in the capital, although debased, merited, nevertheless, a little respect. An insurrection on their part would have occasioned the miscarriage of the projects wisely conceived: it was prudent to pay them and to make use of them, till the new troops should be organized. As for those of the provinces, scattered over the towns and the country-places, they could offer only a resistance easy to be overcome; however, in order neither to indispose the one nor the other, it was resolved to attack at first none but the yamags: thus it is that are called on the frontier of GERMANY, the new comers or the new companies formed for the garrison of the towns and the duty of the fortresses, in the countries newly conquered.

BELGRADE was, in consequence, the first town where a trial was made to abolish the formidable corps of janizaries; but the yamags revolted, took up arms, and threatened the life of the pacha. The latter succeeded in gaining over the officers and in dispersing a corps of troops too ill organized to be able to resist him for any length of time. The government successively came to the other frontier towns of GERMANY: every where they experienced the same resistance; but every where authority triumphed. At WIDIN, the yamags were more fortunate; PASWAN OGLOU, in his capacity of ayam, which he had recently obtained, marched at their head against the pacha, cut him in pieces, and obliged him to abandon the town.

These first successes gave a great idea of the military talents of PASWAN, and caused him to be considered as a man entirely devoted to the interests of the people. He had no great difficulty in engaging all the inhabitants of WIDIN in his party, and in drawing about him a great number of malcontents, by flattering them, not only with preventing the reforms which the PORTE wished to make, but with opposing the collection of the new tax on provisions, wool, cotton, &c. which SELIM had just established, and the pro-

duce of which he had appropriated, as I have before said, to the expenses rendered necessary by the new corps of gunners, bombardiers, and matrosses, whose number had just been augmented.

What must necessarily have irritated the people, was to see the pacha become *muhaffil* or farmer of the new tax, for his province, in consideration of a pretty considerable sum which he had engaged to remit annually to the PORTE, while before the establishment of this tax, not only the PORTE drew nothing from WIDIN, but sent the money necessary for the pay of the yamags and the repairs of the fortifications.

The revenues of WIDIN not being sufficient for the payment of the army, which was every day increasing, PASWAN sent detachments into the neighbouring provinces, took possession of the money belonging to the imperial treasury, levied taxes, summoned the princes of WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA to furnish him with provisions, military stores, and a sum of money somewhat considerable, under pain of having their country invaded. The latter addressed themselves to the PORTE, which, according to its custom of temporizing and waiting for circumstances, sent them orders privately to yield, for the moment, to necessity.

The Greeks form the major part of the population of European TURKEY: it was of importance to PASWAN to draw them to his party, by conciliating their esteem and inspiring them with the greatest confidence. For this purpose he put in force the ordinances of SOLIMAN I, altered or changed by the sultans his successors; he gave them hopes of alleviating their situation, promised them the free exercise of their religion, and the abolition of that infamous distinction of *rayas*: at the same time he took for his motto, *Liberty and Justice*; magic words, capable of electrifying men the most full of apathy, and of leading to devotedness and enthusiasm a people who groan under the most cruel tyranny.

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The conduct of PASWAN must necessarily have produced the effect which he expected from it. Throughout the whole empire, the janizaries considered him only as a man armed for defending their interests, and opposing the enterprises of the sultan and his council: the Greeks regarded him as their approaching deliverer: all offered up vows for the success of his arms, and in the mean time the PORTE hesitated as to the course which it had to follow. The divan assembled several times for this object, without coming to any determination: a few members, among whom was distinguished the captain-pacha, were of opinion to oppose to PASWAN a force capable of stopping his progress, punishing his audacity, and giving an example of severity which might awe the ambitious who should be tempted to imitate him; but the majority strongly insisted on offering PASWAN his pardon and the restitution of the property; confiscated from his father, if he would lay down his arms and disband, to army.

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When a government resolves to treat with a rebellious subject, it give the measure of its weakness or of its folly. From that time the ambitious conceive the boldest projects, and flatter themselves that their enterprises will be crowned with success. Such was the effect that the proposals of the divan must have produced on PASWAN; but this man was too skilful to irritate the PORTE by a formal refusal, and expose the fate of his army by too precipitate a measure: besides, he wanted to gain time and amass riches for the success of his projects. He did not, perhaps, rely sufficiently on the favourable dispositions of all the janizaries of the empire. He contented himself, for the moment, with demanding that every thing should remain at WIDIN on the ancient footing, that the new tax should not be established there, and that the janizaries should be maintained in their rights. Sultan SELIM acceded to these disgraceful conditions, and sent to WIDIN a pacha provided with a firman to that effect. The pacha was received and installed with the customary ceremonies; but, too weak to struggle against a man who had an

army

army at his command, he was unable to obtain any sort of authority. PASWAN preserved his influence and power, and continued, in the name of the pacha, to govern and administer the town and the province.

PASWAN was too well acquainted with the wily policy of the PORTE, to fall asleep in perfect security: he was persuaded that it would employ sooner or later its ordinary means, steel or poison, in order to get rid of a man who might still perplex it, who had dared to paralyze its measures, and who exercised in WIDIN an illegal authority. He neglected nothing to procure protectors and partisans among the great personages of the capital: he continued to flatter the people and to make them hope for reforms useful and ardently wished for, and anxious to obtain, in the present circumstances, a legitimate power, he warmly solicited the government of WIDIN, together with the dignity of pacha with three tails.

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to Although the PORTE had betrayed great weakness in pardoning a rebellious subject, and subscribing to the conditions which he had dictated, it could never bring itself to grant him the dignity which he requested, and, by that means, contribute to his elevation. It endeavoured to gain time waiting for some fortunate circumstance which might rid it of a man whom it considered as no less dangerous than culpable. It amused him as long as it could, by promises which it was its intention never to make good. It did not conceal from itself that this ambitious man solicited the government of WIDIN only in order to render himself afterwards independent, and to remove a pacha whose presence was irksome to him, and who might, from one moment to another, seize on authority and punish him for his crimes.

When PASWAN perceived that he had nothing to hope for from the PORTE, he again raised the standard of revolt: he drove away the pacha, and recommenced his incursions into the neighbouring provinces.

His generals, more warlike than politic, wished to prevail on him to take possession of WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA, to fortify the principal towns situated on the DANUBE, and thence brave all the efforts of the Ottoman Empire. PASWAN knew the courts of VIENNA and PETERSBURG: he was persuaded that they would favour, that they would even second his enterprises in the interior; but that they would unite, on the contrary, with the PORTE, to prevent him from establishing himself beyond the DANUBE, and forming a state independent of those two principalities.

A more extensive field of glory and prosperity offered itself to PASWAN; this was to march straight to the capital, to seize boldly on the throne, to dispose of the fate of SELIM, to sacrifice his enemies to the maues of his father, and to his own safety; to unite under the same laws, nations separated by religious fanaticism; to give to commerce and industry a new impulse; to give life to agriculture; to create a formidable navy; in short, to fix the government on a solid basis, by giving it that harmony, that general connexion in which it is defective.

Had the boldness of this man equalled his prudence; had his mind been as active as his genius was fertile; had he had, for attack, the talents which he has displayed for defence, it is not to be doubted that the throne of SELIM would have passed into other hands. Already had the janizaries refused to march; already did the immense number of inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE hold out their arms to him whom they considered as their deliverer, as the defender of their rights: the majority of the great were devoted to his interests, and the people, as is well known, always seduced by the prestiges which surround the great man, second his projects without inquiry, and promote without mistrust all his enterprises.

PASWAN hesitated as to the course which he had to follow: the obstacles which he considered appeared to him too great perhaps: he doubted of success; he resolved to wait in WIDIN for all the forces which the PORTE chose to employ against him, persuaded that the soldier would draw up under his colours, or find death at the foot of the walls and in the marshes with which the town is surrounded.

In the mean time, the PORTE, which could no longer conceal from itself the danger arising from this rebel being supported by public opinion, commanded the different pachas of European TURKEY, to collect all the forces which they had at their disposal, in order to go and fight him, force him in his last entrenchments, seize on his person, cut off his head, and send it to CONSTANTINOPLE. It at the same time ordered ALLO, pacha or beyler-bey of CUTAYED, a distinguished warrior, to come and give battle to PASWAN with all the forces of his province. The frontier fortresses of GERMANY were provisioned, and intrusted to pachas or governors on whose fidelity and bravery the government thought that a reliance might be placed.

These different corps of troops, to the number of forty or fifty thousand men, approached the provinces occupied by the generals of PASWAN: they at first obtained some advantages, among others that of surrounding the division commanded by SÉREKCHOL OGLOU, of obliging him to enter VARNA, of cutting him in pieces, and of sending to the PORTE the heads of the general and of his principal officers.

This success, of little importance, was immediately repaired by that which the other generals obtained, on all sides, over the united pachas. BELGRADE, that bulwark of the empire, was threatened; ORSOVA, SILISTRIA, KERSOVA, almost all the towns situated on the DANUBE, were soon in the power of PAS-

WAN, who, from the heart of WIDIN, whence he never issued, directed the march of his warriors, and almost always fixed victory under his colours.

What, no doubt, is very deserving of remark, is that PASWAN's army was not weakened by the different battles which it fought: the number of his soldiers increased according to his wants, while that of the pachas was still more weakened by desertion than by the sword of the enemy. The janizary, as I had before mentioned, regarded PASWAN's cause as his own, and the army of the latter, in whose favour victory declared, better fed and more regularly paid, every day attracted to it a great number of malcontents.

The prince of WALLACHIA, compelled to pay a heavy contribution in money, and to furnish provisions and warlike stores to PASWAN, incurred the disgrace of SELIM. He was deposed, recalled to CONSTANTINOPLE, and replaced by KHANGERLI, droguman to the captain-pacha, an able, intriguing man, devoured by ambition, strongly suspected of favouring in secret the projects of the natural enemies of the Ottoman Empire, and of holding out his hand to their corrupting gold.

The PORTE, undoubtedly, did not expect that PASWAN, abandoned to his own strength, was in a condition to oppose an army capable of resisting that of the pachas united. It did not imagine above all that he had at his disposal the gold that was necessary for him to maintain it. It was sensibly alarmed at his successes, and very uneasy respecting the fate of BELGRADE, of which the rebel seemed to wish to make himself master. It likewise was afraid that he would cross Mount HÆMUS, and come to establish himself at ADRIANOPLE, whence he might have molested the capital. It took the resolution of displaying against him very considerable forces, in order to finish quickly an unfortunate war which was threatening the empire with a general overthrow, and exhausting unreasonably the finances of the State. In Nivôse, year VI.

(1798), it convoked the principal officers belonging to the janizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE, in order to sound them respecting the intention which it had to march their corps * against PASWAN. The latter appeared not disposed to second the views of the sultan; they represented that the soldiers said loudly that they would never make war against a Mussulman, who had, according to them, committed no other fault than that of wishing to prevent an attack from being made on their rights, and from there being introduced into the empire of the true believers, the customs of the infidels, enemies of their god and of their prophet.

At one moment it was thought that the janizary-aga would pay with his head the ill-will of the soldiers; but SELIM contented himself with removing him from the capital for a few days, and sending him to GALLIPOLI. He came and resumed his functions, when the government were assured that his removal could not, in any way, change the peaceable dispositions of the janizaries and of their officers.

At the same time an order was dispatched to the pachas and governors of the provinces of the empire, for them to furnish different corps of troops, and cause them to march on the first notice that they should receive. The grand visir, on whom the command of the army had devolved, being old and infirm, SELIM appointed in his place the captain-pacha, as if the zeal and goodwill of his High Admiral could, in this case, make amends for the knowledge and experience which he wanted. HUSSEIN had never been engaged in war, either by sea or by land; how then could he contend, with advantage, against a man who had set at nought the bravery and military talents of the old generals that he had had to combat.

* The number of janizaries in CONSTANTINOPLE is reckoned to be upwards of fifty thousand.

It is said that it was the very enemies of the captain-pacha who caused him to be appointed *seraskier* of the army, as well to remove him from the capital, as to plan for him an affair of the highest importance, in which they hoped that he would miscarry.

HUSSEIN could not refuse the command of the army without displeasing the sultan, without being taxed with cowardice, without giving a hold to the malignity of the public. He hoped besides, if he obtained imposing forces, to destroy easily a rebel against whom none but half-measures had hitherto been taken, against whom none but inconsiderable forces had been employed. As artful as his enemies were perfidious, he presented himself to SELIM, prostrated himself at his feet, and said to him: " Lord, my life is yours; if you think me capable of leading your land-forces as I have hitherto led those of the sea, command: I am ready to obey you; I will march against the rebel; I will bring you his head, or I will lose my own; but PASWAN's party is numerous and powerful; his creatures, his friends are spread every where; they will fetter my operations if I am not invested with great authority; they will make my enterprises miscarry, if I have not considerable forces and all the money necessary for insuring the subsistence of the army, and for detaching, if it be needful, from the rebel party the generals, to whose talents and courage PASWAN owes the successes which he has obtained against your arms."

Selim granted all the demands of the pacha, and invested him with great power; he gave orders that all the corps of troops, as well of EUROPE as of ASIA, which could be raised, should join their colours in the early part of the spring; and nothing was spared for the success of this enterprize.

From that time, the greatest activity was exerted, in the construction and equipment of fifteen gun-boats, carrying a 24 or an 18 pounder in the bow,

and one or two small cannons on each side; they were intended for ascending the DANUBE in order to second by water the attack which was meditated by land against WIDIN. Different craft were equipped for the conveyance of the artillery and stores necessary for the siege, as well as for the provisions for the troops.

ADRIANOPLE was the general rendezvous of the troops of the southern part of TURKEY in EUROPE and of those in ASIA. A part of the former filed off through CONSTANTINOPLE; a part passed through GALLIPOLI. The whole army collected was estimated at one hundred thousand combatants.

HUSSEIN, general in chief, had a corps of from twelve to fifteen thousand Asiatics, and another composed of seven or eight thousand men, topchis, galiondgis, and volunteers, raised in CONSTANTINOPLE and in the environs.

ALLO, pacha of CUTAYED, was at the head of thirty thousand Asiatics, delis, spahis, janizaries, and volunteers.

ALI, pacha of YANINA in ALBANIA, commanded ten or twelve thousand Albanians and five or six thousand janizaries.

MUSTAPHA, pacha of BOSNIA, had a corps of five or six thousand men, as well infantry as cavalry.

ISMAEL, bey of SERES in UPPER MACEDONIA, brought five or six thousand spahis.

Orders were also given for the marching of detachments taken from SALONICA, PHILOPOPOLIS, SOPHIA, and some other towns of European TURKEY.

It was these forces, capable of subduing an empire, that HUSSEIN marched to destroy a rebel, and lay siege to a revolted town.

The Turkish government must naturally have expected that PASWAN, on his side, would neglect nothing for reinforcing his army, and putting it on a respectable footing. They presumed that he would come and wait for the captain-pacha at the defiles of Mount HÆMUS, in order to dispute with him those difficult passes, and attempt to destroy an army which the first obstacles might discourage and put to the rout. They were very much surprised to see him, on the contrary, disband a great part of his troops, abandon the towns of which he had made himself master, and shut himself in WIDIN with twelve thousand chosen men, on whose fidelity and bravery he could rely. He had had time to collect provisions and warlike stores in a quantity sufficiently great to sustain a siege for upwards of two successive years, without putting the inhabitants to too great straits. He had, besides, a flotilla which rendered him master of the course of the DANUBE, and which, in case of need, was to facilitate the re-victualling of the place. This artillery was under the direction of some Polish engineers, who also drew his plans of defence.

The imperial army repaired without obstacle to the vicinity of WIDIN : all the corps of troops were assembled there before the end of Prairial : the flotilla and the gun-boats arrived at the same time ; the provisions and military stores were in great abundance ; the captain-pacha was in want of nothing but men capable of directing a siege, and soldiers better disposed for supporting the cause for which they were going to fight.

After having reconnoitred the environs of the town, after having assigned to the different chiefs the posts which they were to occupy, or having made all the dispositions which he judged necessary for the siege, HUSSEIN summoned PASWAN to lay down his arms, promising him his life, liberty, and a distinguished.

tinguished rank if he would spare Mussulman blood. "In vain wilt thou oppose to me," said he to him, "a momentary resistance; I have a hundred thousand men with me; a hundred thousand others would come to their assistance, were it necessary: acknowledge thy errors; prostrate thyself before the majesty of the imperial throne, and deliver up to me thy town and thy army." PASWAN received the envoy of the pacha on the most lofty terrace of his palace, whence he was observing with a glass the movements of the enemy; and with that disdain which the idea of the superiority of one's strength and talents naturally produces: "Go and tell thy master," replied he, "that it depended on me to have a hundred thousand men to oppose to him; I preferred conquering him with ten."

MUSSEIN having no hope of being able to bring back PASWAN to his duties, resolved to push the siege with the greatest vigour: presently he thought himself in a condition to make a general attack on the town, and, by this means, to make himself master of an island situated on the DANUBE, facing WIDIN; but he was every where repulsed with considerable loss: the town was very well defended; and the island, on which it was of importance to establish himself, had been so fortified that all the efforts of the pacha could make no impression on it: his flotilla was beat off by that of PASWAN, by the fire of the place, and by the batteries of the island. His gun-boats having too imprudently exposed themselves, suffered considerably; some of them sunk and the others were no longer in a situation to second in the sequel the different attacks which took place.

The town, almost entirely surrounded by marshes, was difficult of approach: the works necessary for the success of the siege were ill executed, and worse conceived; forties, made opportunely, destroyed them, or retarded their progress. Already had two general attacks been very unfortunate: a great loss of men had been sustained in the fruitless attempt of the capture of the

island ; the siege was drawing on to a great length ; the season was advancing ; the army was diminishing considerably by sickness, by desertion, and by the fire of the besieged. All these considerations induced the captain-pacha to make a final effort, and employ at once every means that he had remaining.

The army was divided into three corps : ALLO took the command of the first ; ALI, that of the second ; HUSSEIN reserved to himself the third : he ordered the first two to proceed during the night by different roads, to the place assigned for the attack ; but through a mistake, very culpable no doubt, one of the divisions, at the break of day, fired on the other, taking it for an enemy's corps which had sallied from the place : the mistake had been perceived while the battle was still going on, because the general who had stood several discharges, was so incensed with anger, that he ordered the other corps to be fired on, as if it had been one belonging to the enemy. The soldier partook of the indignation of the general, and the battle did not end till the third division had advanced, fallen sword in hand on the combatants, and separated them in spite of themselves. Discontent became so great, misunderstanding was so general, and desertion so considerable, that the captain-pacha thought proper to raise the siege, retire, and wait from time and circumstances for that which his arms had not been able to obtain.

As soon as HUSSEIN had retired, PASWAN recalled the soldiers that he had disbanded ; he a second time made himself master of the places which he had evacuated, and again threatened the north of the empire. After various deliberations of the council, the PORTE determined to offer the rebel whom it could not destroy, his pardon, the government of WIDIN, and the dignity of pacha with three tails ; and as, in these circumstances, despotism required a victim, the prince of WALLACHIA was sacrificed to the resentment of HUSSEIN, and his head brought to CONSTANTINOPLE in Ventôse, year VII. (1799.)

CHAPTER XIV.

Position and temperature of Constantinople.—Construction of the houses.—Use of the tandour and of pelisses.—Fires.—Dogs and vultures.

IF CONSTANTINOPLE leaves scarcely any thing to be wished for as to the natural beauty of its situation and that of its environs, the fertility and the variety of its territory, the extent, the commodiousness, and the safety of its harbour, and the facility with which it is supplied with provisions, it has also the advantage of enjoying a very mild temperature, a beautiful sky, and a very healthful climate. Situated in the latitude of 41 degrees 1 minute north, the heats of summer are there tempered by a north north-east wind which blows regularly from the BLACK SEA during the day; and the cold, in winter, is never excessive, because this same wind, the most cold and most frequent of all, loses much of its sharpness in passing over almost the whole length of that sea.

The winds are variable in winter, and blow from all points; but it seldom happens that the easterly wind does not soon veer to the north-east, and the westerly wind come round to the south-west or south. Rains are frequent, and the sky is almost always cloudy in that season, from the winds which blow from the BLACK SEA, while it is generally serene from those which come from the PROPONTIS and the ARCHIPELAGO. I have, nevertheless, seen it rain indifferently with northerly and southerly winds; but, in the latter case, the clouds are detained and condensed by a north wind which reigns over the BLACK SEA. It is not uncommon, in winter, to have, for fifteen or twenty days successively, with a light southerly wind, a very beautiful sky and a very mild temperature.

The north-west wind blows, in general, only after a heavy rain. The sky is clear during its continuance, and the cold is moderate; but it does not hold long in that quarter: it is sometimes the precursor of the southerly wind, and not unfrequently it shifts to the north and north-east.

It seldom freezes in open day, and the thermometer scarcely ever falls, during the night, more than two or three degrees below the freezing point. There are years when snow is frequent; but generally it melts in falling, and seldom remains several days together, in the environs of the city, without melting and disappearing entirely. It is related, however, that the cold has been sufficiently sharp to freeze the water at the head of the harbour, that the snow has been seen to fall to a foot in depth, and remain unthawed several days; and what is more extraordinary, under CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, the BOSPHORUS froze to such a degree that it was crossed on foot: under ARCADIUS, the BLACK SEA remained frozen for twenty days; when the ice broke up, pieces of a considerable size were seen floating before CONSTANTINOPLE.

In the spring, the winds are likewise variable and the cold very moderate; the rains are commonly abundant in Germinal and even in Floréal, and the heats are not felt till Messidor. At the end of Pluviôse, year VI. (1798), the buds of the trees expanded rather quickly; peach and apricot trees had been in flower for some days, and almond-trees already shewed their fruits.

In Messidor, the wind fixes at north, and it seldom happens that, during the three summer months, it blows from the south quarter. The sky is always clear in this season, and rains are extremely uncommon. Vegetation is kept up by the dews, tolerably copious in summer, on account of the vicinity of the two seas, and because the soil, though uncultivated in several places,

is, nevertheless, covered with trees, shrubs, and plants which contribute to the coolness and humidity of the nights. At the end of *Fructidor*, the winds never fail to become again variable, and then it is that the vessels riding in the *HELLESPONT* prepare to ascend the channel, and to take advantage of the first southerly wind.

It sometimes happens in *Messidor*, and more commonly at the beginning, and in the middle of *Fructidor*, that the wind blows for two or three days from the south quarter, and that the heat is sensibly felt. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th of *Fructidor*, (24th, 25th, and 26th of August,) I saw *REAUMUR*'s thermometer rise to 27 degrees, while it is generally, during the strongest heat of the day, only at 23 and 24.

The autumn is generally very fine: it rains for a few days and repeatedly, before and after the equinox, after which the weather is fine, the sky is clear and serene for a fortnight, a month, and even more, and the colds do not begin to be felt till *Nivôse*. *TOTT* has observed that the southerly wind, at the beginning of the autumn, was somewhat cold, because it passed over the snow of Mount *OLYMPUS*. We made the same remark, and we saw that, even in winter, this wind was constantly colder the first day that it blew, than the second and third; but, in general, this wind shifts to the south-south-west, and follows the direction of the Gulf of *SAROS*, and of the *HELLESPONT*. It is known by the modern Greeks under the name of *Lonos*; it is always more mild in winter than the southerly wind, and the sky is always more serene and more clear.

It is not uncommon for the wind to blow from the northern quarter over the *BOSPHORUS* and the *PROPONTIS*, while it blows from the south quarter over the *ARCHIPELAGO* and the *HELLESPONT*. We have frequently been witnesses of it during the stay which we made in the *DARDANELLES*;

and when we returned from EGYPT in Messidor year III. (1795) the south-west wind carried us thrice beyond the point of NAGARA, and thrice we found beyond it the north wind which prevented us from advancing, and obliged us to return to our anchorage. The third time we had a great deal of difficulty to reach a cove, half a league from a village called *GALATA*, where we remained for three days.

It is in this part of the HELLESPONT comprised between the point of NAGARA and GALLIPOLI, that the south wind, on the one side, and the north wind, on the other, sometimes meet and cease to blow: there is not a seaman who must not have made this remark, and have seen several times, in winter, the sky foggy or stormy towards the BLACK SEA, while it was serene towards the ARCHIPELAGO.

At the end of Nivôse and in Pluviôse, the north wind is sometimes felt in the PROPONTIS, and on the ARCHIPELAGO, with such violence, that vessels which are at sea, run the greatest danger if they do not *bear up* immediately and gain a harbour. We were informed that several European ships which had sailed with fine weather from CONSTANTINOPLE in Nivôse, the year before our arrival in the LEVANT, had been lost in the Sea of MARMORA, and at the entrance of the channel of the DARDANELLES, in foggy weather, and with a sudden and violent north wind accompanied by snow and rain. During the three winter months and in the vernal equinox, prudent and timid navigators do not set sail if the weather be not settled, and they generally pass the night at an anchorage, on the smallest equivocal sign that they perceive. The Turkish and Greek mariners scarcely ever fail, during the six most dangerous months of the year, to run every night into a harbour, and to anchor whenever the wind is too strong, when it is contrary, or when the sky threatens a storm.

The *BLACK SEA*, by the account of the mariners who frequent it, is still more stormy, during the winter, than the *PROFONTIS* and the *ARCHIPELAGO*: the sky then is frequently foggy or covered with clouds, and the harbours there are far from numerous; which is the reason that the Orientals, who almost all navigate without a compass, dare not expose themselves there during three or four months of the year, and that the boldest and least ignorant among them perish there sometimes, because, accustomed not to lose sight of the land, the north, north-east or north-west winds, which blow generally with the greatest strength, dash their vessels * to pieces on the rocks which skirt the south coast. During the summer, this sea is as free from storms as the *MEDITERRANEAN*, and the weather there is commonly very fine.

Notwithstanding the facility which there would be at *CONSTANTINOPLE* to procure stones, bricks, lime, and every thing that is necessary for building in a solid and durable manner, the houses of the rich, like those of the poor, are constructed with wood. The frame, almost always of oak, rests on a foundation in masonry of no great depth: the interstices left by the wood, are filled up by means of earth kneaded with straw or chopped hemp; the wall is covered with painted planks, rather ill joined: all the floors are of wood, and the roofs are made with hollow tiles, disposed as they are seen in the South of *FRANCE*. The public edifices alone, such as the baths, the caravansaries, and the befestins are built in masonry in a very solid manner.

As for the mosques, constructed on the model of the ancient Greek churches, the greater part are of a tolerably handsome form. The pillars of marble, alabaster, granite, and porphyry are placed with much more taste than is generally displayed by the Turks. The minarets by which they are fur-

* These vessels, called *saïques*, are constructed in such a manner as not to be able to keep the sea when the wind is too strong. They are obliged to present their stern to the wind, and gain a harbour.

mounted, to the number of one, two, four or six, have an effect very picturesque and very agreeable to the eye.

In a great part of the empire, especially in the countries where the rains are uncommon and the heat excessive, all the houses have, in lieu of a ridged roof, terraces or flat roofs on which the inhabitants sleep in summer: but this custom is not introduced at CONSTANTINOPLE, where the heats are temperate, and the nights cool and damp.

If we except the palaces of the ambassadors and a few merchants' houses, the inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE have no chimnies in the apartments which they occupy: they warm themselves by means of a brazier in copper or baked earth, called *mangal*, which they place within reach of their sofas: but in the houses of some Mussulmans, and in almost all those of the Greeks and Armenians, this brazier is placed under a round or square table, covered with several carpets, one of which, wadded and quilted, in printed calico, hangs down to the floor in every direction, and retains the heat under the table: in this case a little charcoal is put into the brazier, and it is covered with ashes, in order to temper the heat. A stuffed bench, placed all round, allows several persons to sit down, to stretch out their legs towards the mangal, and to receive the heat up to their middle. This table, called *tandour*, appears to have a Greek origin, if we consider that its use is more common among the Greeks than among the Turks, and that it is no longer to be found in the interior of ASIA MINOR, where the colds are more sharp and more piercing than at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Whenever it is a little cold, the women seldom quit their tandour, there it is that they pass their day, that they work, that they receive their female friends, that they cause their meals to be served up. In the evening, it is

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on the tandour that they play at cards *, at chess, or at draughts. It is round the tandour that they assemble to carry on conversation, communicate the news to each other, listen to some tragical story, some tale of a ghost, or the prowess of some pacha in rebellion against the PORTE.

The Europeans willingly habituate themselves to this custom, because it brings the two sexes together, and because the strict eye of a mother, or the jealous looks of a husband, cannot remark the signs of intelligence nor prevent the expressive touches which the tandour favours. If ever the use of chimnies could be introduced at CONSTANTINOPLE, we are persuaded that the Greek women would oppose it with all their might; and certainly they would find in their persuasive eloquence, good reasons in favour of the gentle, moderate, and more economical heat of the tandour.

In a city where the houses are of wood and ill built, where the windows are numerous and badly shut, where the wind and exterior air come into every room, not only through the doors and windows, but through the walls and partitions, neither the mangal nor the tandour could sufficiently secure the inhabitants from the cold: they require to be warmly clothed: RUSSIA and POLAND afforded them the warmest clothing that man can wear, and the custom of furs was adopted by the inhabitants of the capital, whence it spread in a moment over the most distant provinces. The pelisse is become every where the aliment of luxury, the indication of opulence, the reward of services, a pressing want to all. In countries where the cold is never felt, as in EGYPT and ARABIA, as well as in the most northern cities of TURKEY, such as CONSTANTINOPLE, ADRIANOPLE, and BELGRADE, this custom is general, not only among rich persons and those who enjoy a moderate fortune, but likewise among the indigent.

* Cards are known only to the Greeks and Armenians who frequent the Europeans.

The rich man wears at the same time two or three furs during the winter; he changes them in all seasons, and, during the summer, he is still seen dressed in the serge of *ANGORA*, lined with *pelit gris*, or gray squirrel-skin. If the inhabitant of the country-places cannot procure a fine and foreign skin, he at least uses those which fall in his way: the hare, the jackal, the lamb, the sheep, all are acceptable to him; he secures himself from the cold, and he imitates the inhabitants of the cities.

The women have likewise furs of all seasons: the black fox, the sable for winter, the gray squirrel for autumn and spring, the ermine for summer: the greater part have in their closets ten or twelve furred gowns, the dearest of which sometimes exceeds fifteen or twenty thousand livres.

It is not surprising that fires should be frequent in *CONSTANTINOPLE*, when there is continually fire, during the winter, on wood-floors, within reach of sofas, mats, and carpets. The smallest negligence, children playing, or a few sparks to which no attention has been paid, frequently set on fire those combustible substances; and should a person then happen to be asleep or absent from his house, the fire communicates by degrees from the furniture to the floor; if it be long before it is perceived, it soon breaks out with violence, spreads with rapidity, gains the neighbouring houses, and sometimes even consumes a considerable portion of the city. From the palace of the ambassador and from the elevated places of *PERA*, we were, more than once, witnesses of the violence of fire, of the quickness with which it spread, and of the terrible effect which it produced.

This sight, beautiful and awful as it is, strikes with horror the man of feeling who wishes to contemplate it, because it presents the image of unfortunate beings who, in those frightful moments, are struggling with death; of those who, seized with terror, are endeavouring to escape with their valuable

valuable effects; of those, in short, who are striving, in the midst of the flames, to carry off children or old men that are dear to them.

When a fire breaks out, whether by day, or by night, all the inhabitants of the city are soon warned to have an eye to their own safety, or to give assistance to the unfortunate persons concerning whom they take an interest. The guard of every quarter parades the streets, trailing on the pavement flicks shod with iron, and crying from time to time in a melancholy and mournful voice: "*There's a fire!*" Two enormous drums, placed the one on a lofty tower about the middle of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the other on that of GALATA, likewise apprize the inhabitants of a fire having broken out. In these circumstances, it is the duty of the commander of the janizaries to run immediately with a numerous guard to the place where the fire has been discovered: the grand visir must also repair thither in person, and if the fire be not extinguished immediately, the sultan never fails to come, and to cause money to be distributed in order to excite the pumpers, the porters, the guard, and the passengers, to work with ardour. But when the fire has made some progress, and especially when it is rendered more active by the wind, no hope can be entertained of extinguishing it but by endeavouring to circumscribe it: in order to effect this, the nearest houses which are still untouched are demolished as quickly as possible: the materials are removed before the fire has reached them, and those which cannot be taken away are laid under water.

The damages occasioned by fire are soon repaired: a few days after the conflagration, are seen on all sides houses rising similar to those which the fire has consumed: the imperfections presented by narrow streets, ill laid out, are exactly preserved; nor is any change made in the order and distribution of the apartments. The Mussulman comes thither to resume, if he can, his former occupations, and live there, as before, without regret and without foresight.

Among

Among this ignorant and ferocious people, fire is not unfrequently a mode of expressing their discontent at the dearness of provisions, at the abuse of authority, at a denial of justice, or at the innovations which the government wishes to introduce: of this, history affords us several instances. We shall also relate in another place with some degree of minuteness how the Turks, at SMYRNA, revenged themselves for the assassination of a janizary, by carrying fire and sword into the quarter of the Europeans, and murdering indiscriminately the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews that they met in the streets. The fire at PERA, which took place in the year VII. (1799) is attributed by those who were witnesses of it, to the expedition of the French into EGYPT, and still more to the monstrous alliance of the PORTE with RUSSIA.

From the aspect of that multitude of dogs which are met with in the streets of the capital, from their excessive leanness, and from the hunger which torments them, one would be inclined to imagine that, independently of the plague, of fires, and of the soldiery that desolate this city, madness must be blended to those scourges and cause, in its turn, many ravages among an improvident people: one would be mistaken, for if travellers may be credited, the testimony of the inhabitants, and the opinion of a great number of physicians whom I consulted on this subject, canine madness is totally unknown in the EAST. It appears that this disorder is as foreign to these countries, as the plague is to the part of EUROPE which we inhabit; and I do not imagine that, in any circumstances, either the one or the other can make its appearance spontaneously, whatever may be the state of the atmosphere, the quality and the quantity of the aliments, and the vicinity of infected places: a dog must necessarily be bitten by another dog or by some other animal afflicted by that disorder, for madness to break out in him, as a man must have a communication with pestiferous persons or touch the objects to which they have transmitted their taint, for him to be attacked by the plague. The syphilis offers us an

example more striking of the diseases which cannot be attributed to other causes than to a contact with persons infected. But this is not the place to treat of canine madness: it is sufficient for us to remark that it is unknown in the Ottoman Empire, although the various causes to which physicians attribute it, exist in TURKEY almost all in a degree more eminent than in EUROPE.

In fact, dogs are there more numerous; and as they belong to no one, they there suffer more than in our countries, from hunger and thirst: the climate is much hotter than ours, and the cold is sufficiently sharp at CONSTANTINOPLE, and ADRIANOPLE, for those animals, to whom the entrance of the houses is prohibited, to feel it more, during the night, than those of the northern countries of EUROPE. The former, as is well known, can secure themselves to a certain degree from the inclemency of the seasons, to which the dogs of TURKEY are incessantly exposed:

Although the Mussulmans consider dogs as unclean animals, so much so that they avoid touching them, and prevent them from entering into their houses, yet they suffer them to breed considerably in most towns, because they think that their dung is very fit for the dressing and the dyeing of Morocco leather: one could not even, if we may believe them, supply the place of this substance by another. The advantage which they also derive from those animals, is that they clear the streets of the carrion and other filth which the inhabitants are incessantly throwing there.

The charity of the Turks in regard to them consists in giving them sometimes bread and what they cannot consume, in distributing to them daily the liver, lights, entrails, and head of the sheep which are killed in the slaughter-houses, because they never make use of those aliments proscribed by their religion, and because the christians, following their example, dare

not eat them. Every day are seen in the streets men carrying on a long pole a great number of these livers and lights, in order to sell them at one or two sous to the de~~se~~out and the rich who may be desirous of regaling with them the dogs of their neighbourhood.

There are persons who cause to be built, near the door of their houses, huts for the purpose of lodging bitches and their young: they carry thither straw, and give them every day bread or meat. It is even said that some have, on their death-bed, left legacies for the support of a certain number of these animals.

The police which the dogs exercise among themselves is very strict: divided into packs more or less numerous, according to the quantity of sustenance which a particular part of the town affords, they always frequent the same streets, assemble round the slaughter-houses and places where they find food, and if they perceive a dog belonging to another quarter, they fall on him, and drive him away, biting him as hard as they can. Ill fed as they are, they, undoubtedly, are afraid to share a scanty meal with a new comer. If it happen that one of them be driven from his pack, he is generally obliged to leave the town and wander about the fields unless he be strong enough to dispute with perseverance a place of refuse, or patient enough to endure for a long time the bites and the crossness of those with which he wishes to associate.

Vultures, kites, and most of the birds of night combine with the dogs to clear the city of its filth: the first mentioned * arrive in the spring, pass the summer on the minarets, the mosques, and other elevated places, there lay their eggs, and return before the winter into the more southern countries, such as EGYPT, ARABIA, and the interior of AFRICA. During the heat

* *Vultur pernopterus.*

of the day, they soar to a considerable height, hover for several hours together over the town, and at night come to take their share of the carrion which they have perceived.

The kite, the great-eared owl, the long-eared owl, the scops owl, the common owl, the screech owl, and the reddish owl make war on the rats and mice, which are extremely numerous in a city built of wood, where the inhabitants are very neglectful, and where cats are scarce and often dangerous, as they may transmit the plague from one house to another, in the season of their loves.

As for the ordure, the inhabitants of CONSTANTINOPLE do not commonly give themselves the trouble to have it removed, because they depend in this respect on the rain. This resource is almost always sufficient in autumn, winter, and spring, because the city affords every where a declivity sufficiently great for the waters to wash it away and carry it along with them; and when these means are not sufficient, they throw it into the harbour; which forms, on several parts of the shore, considerable risings.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the plague.—Curative indications of this disease.

WHEN there neither exists, near a town, marshes nor other hotbeds of infection ; when the air is incessantly renewed with facility, and carries off the putrid miasinata resulting from a great population ; when the waters are pure and the aliments of a good quality ; when, in a word, the climate is temperate, the inhabitants enjoy, in general, good health, and are exposed only to the complaints common to human nature. All these advantages are united at CONSTANTINOPLE, to such a degree that we should not hesitate to say that this city would be one of the most healthful in the world, if a terrible malady did not there make frequent ravages, and carry off from time to time a part of the inhabitants. In fact, if we except the plague, the cause of which appears foreign to the climate, as we shall presently shew, at CONSTANTINOPLE one is not exposed to local disorders, and strangers who arrive in that city have not to dread the malignant influence of a dangerous and unwholesome climate. But the plague alone takes off more inhabitants than all other disorders together cause to perish, more than war or navigation cause to disappear ; and if this city was not continually repairing, from all points of the empire, the losses which it sustains, it would shortly be no more than one vast solitude.

With their ideas of fatalism, the Turks, persuaded that man cannot change the immutable decrees of the Eternal, consider not only as useless, but even as criminal the precautions which the Europeans take against that destructive scourge, and when death is striking them on all sides, they display a great tranquillity and an entire resignation. Not one of them appears to have any repugnance

pugnance to attend the sick who are dear to them ; neither could he make up his mind to forsake them or give them up, as is done by Europeans in most of the sea-ports of the LEVANT, to hirelings who are accused of hastening too frequently the death of the patient, in order to enjoy sooner his spoils.

Under whatever form death present itself, the sage receives it with serenity : it is not even terrible to the generality of men, except when it is accompanied by acute pains, and when every hope of recovery has fled ; but the courage of the most stoical philosopher would, perhaps, be staggered, if, struck by this cruel disorder, he were witness of the fright which seizes on all those who have had a communication with him ; if he found himself forsaken, abandoned by his nearest relatives, his best friends ; if, in those moments of grief and agony, he could not see and embrace a wife, a child, nor dictate to them his last will ; if he saw himself descending, as it were yet living, into the grave.

Affections the most tender, the closest connexions, almost always among Europeans give way to the fright which this cruel disorder inspires : the wish of our own preservation breaks in a moment the ties of blood, and stifles sentiments the most virtuous. On the first symptoms of a serious illness, the man suspected of having the plague is immediately sent to the *hospice*, situated at the extremity of the street of PERA, solely destined for the treatment of that disorder : there a Maronite friar is charged to receive the patients that are sent, and to cause to be administered to them such assistance as his zeal may suggest.

Gratitude is, undoubtedly, due to the man who has devoted himself to the relief of the infected, who has been able to make up his mind to reside among them and pour into their heart the words of consolation ; but to his good intentions he ought to join the knowledge necessary for the treatment of this disorder, and be able, without exposing himself too much, to afford every assistance which the patients claim, and which humanity requires. Unfortunately,

fortunately, the attentions of this friar are hitherto confined to causing to be given from a distance a few light aliments, a few insignificant drinks, and to presenting himself at the door of each patient in order to administer to him the spiritual succour prescribed by religion.

It would, doubtless, be easy by taking suitable precautions, to establish in this hospice a curative treatment, which might be modified or changed till a fortunate result had been attained. We doubt not that this disorder, however quick and terrible it may be, may sometimes yield to a treatment directed by an able and experienced hand, and that it may, perhaps, be easy to preserve one's self from its contagious effects by never touching the patient or his garments, without immediately dipping one's hands in water, vinegar, or any other liquid; by fumigating his room from time to time, by making him even sleep in the open air when the season might permit, by taking, in short, the precaution of anointing with oil, butter, or grease, one's hands and the parts of one's body the most exposed to any contact.

When one has resided in the LEVANT and especially at CONSTANTINOPLE, one is convinced that, in ordinary times, this disorder is propagated but slowly; few individuals are attacked by it at a time; some get the better of it, and one must have a more intimate communication, a more immediate contact to be afflicted by it, than when it shews itself under an epidemical aspect: in this latter case, it spreads with an astonishing rapidity, is communicated with the greatest facility, and carries off almost all those who are struck by it. The most certain method of guarding against it, is for a person to shut himself up in his house and no longer hold communication with any one; for it appears demonstrated that the air does not transmit the plague; but that it is communicated and propagated only by the contact of a sick person, or by objects which he has recently touched; and what must leave no doubt on this subject, is that there is no instance of the most destructive plague having introduced itself
among

among the Europeans, when they have insulated themselves, and dipped in water, vinegar, or perfume, all the articles which they drew from without.

This observation which is daily confirmed by experience, no longer permits us to look for the cause of this disease in putrid, malignant, pestilential miasmata emanated from some infectious places, some stagnant waters, &c. still less in the periodical inundation of the NILE, as some authors, on too slight grounds, have advanced. No city is more exposed to the plague than CONSTANTINOPLE; and, nevertheless, as we have before observed, the air there is very wholesome, and neither marshes nor infectious places are to be seen in the environs. In EGYPT, the NILE begins to swell towards the middle of Messidor, and has entirely overflowed its banks at the beginning of Fructidor. In Vendémiaire, the lands which the river has inundated are sown: this would, undoubtedly, be the period of the sudden appearance of the plague if this disorder were occasioned by the putrid exhalations produced by the waters remaining on the lands, and yet it is observed that this disease always ceases in EGYPT in the hottest season of the year, and that it very seldom breaks out in autumn, but more frequently in winter and spring, that is, when the waters spread over the lands have entirely disappeared, and there can no longer be dangerous exhalations. What likewise proves that the periodical inundations of the NILE have no influence on the plague, is that EGYPT is sometimes free from this disorder for several years together.

For this disease to make its appearance in a town, the germ must be brought thither from without. Infectious marshes, vegetable and animal substances in a state of putrefaction, vitiated aliments, and mephititic exhalations will, no doubt, sometimes occasion very serious disorders, and fevers as dangerous as the plague; but those disorders will cease when the cause which has produced them shall disappear: they will not embrace a vast extent of ground; they will be circumscribed to the places which gave them birth.

The plague visits the different countries of the Ottoman Empire, as the small-pox visits the different countries of EUROPE: like the latter, it neither owes its origin to putrid exhalations nor to causes derived from the soil or the climate: it exists in the LEVANT, as it would soon exist in EUROPE, if we took no method of securing ourselves from it, and it might, undoubtedly, be made to cease in the Ottoman Empire, if the Turks were capable of employing the means proper for that purpose. The plague visits TURKEY, and makes its appearance more or less often in a town, according as commerce and communications are more or less frequent: thus it is almost always at CONSTANTINOPLE, because this is the city which communicates the most with all the points of the empire. The plague cannot break out in any town of the provinces without its being soon transmitted to the capital. SMYRNA is the next city where this disorder most frequently makes ravages, because trade there is very brisk, and because the intercourse of that city with almost all those of TURKEY is rather frequent. EGYPT carries on a somewhat considerable trade with CONSTANTINOPLE; and, indeed, it commonly happens that the Turkish ships or the caravels belonging to the Grand Signior bring the plague to ALEXANDRIA, whence it spreads to ROSETTA, DAMIETTA, and CAIRO, and thence into all the villages and even into the habitation of the cultivator.

This cruel malady extends into SYRIA by means of the merchandize which EGYPT furnishes to that country: it comes thither also through SMYRNA and CONSTANTINOPLE; thence it sometimes reaches DAMASCUS, ALEPPO, and MESOPOTAMIA; it is brought into the interior of ASIA MINOR by the caravans from CONSTANTINOPLE and SMYRNA. TURKEY in EUROPE is more exposed to the plague than the distant provinces of ASIA, on account of its vicinity and the connexions which it has with the capital. At DEARBEEKIR and at MOSUL, this disease is known but every fifteen, eighteen,

or twenty years ; it is much more rare at BAGDAT and BASSORA, and the Persians are scarcely ever afflicted by it.

This difference is owing, on the one hand, to those towns receiving scarcely any indigenous merchandise from SMYRNA and CONSTANTINOPLE, and to the pestilential infection having time to be dissipated in a very long passage across ASIA MINOR, MESOPOTAMIA, or the desert of ARABIA. Besides, it appears certain that a cold somewhat severe, such as is felt in ASIA MINOR, or a great heat like that of EGYPT, of SYRIA or of the desert of ARABIA, is sufficient for smothering entirely the germs of this scourge ; and this, no doubt, is the reason that the plague does not make its appearance two years successively in the countries either too cold or too hot, except on the coasts, where it may be incessantly kept up by commercial communications.

TURKEY not furnishing any merchandise to PERSIA, this disorder can be transmitted thither only by travellers ; but as the germ of this disease is soon developed in persons who have received it, they would be attacked before they had travelled over a space at all considerable. This is the case with BAGDAT and BASSORA : the interior of TURKEY furnishes very few articles of trade to those two cities : some silk stuffs are brought thither from DAMASCUS and ALEPPO, together with some European cloths, very little sugar, cochineal, and indigo, but a great deal of old copper which passes into INDIA, and metals, as is well known, are little susceptible of preserving and transmitting the germs of the plague.

What fortunately contributes to retard the progress of this malady in the LEVANT, is that the Turks are in the habit of freighting from preference European vessels for the conveyance of their merchandise, and our seamen are too well acquainted with the dangers which they have to run not to take

take every precaution that prudence requires. Besides, commercial speculations are almost always suspended or relaxed in a town violently afflicted by this scourge.

Furs of which the Turks make a great use, contribute most to the communication of the plague, either because the fur in which a man has died, serves to clothe or to adorn his nearest relation, or because it is immediately exposed to sale, and purchasers flock from all quarters. It is, besides, proved that this merchandise is the most susceptible of transmitting the plague, and it is commonly from CONSTANTINOPLE that all the chests of peltry are dispatched for the different sea-port towns of the LEVANT. The merchants of ALEXANDRIA have remarked that it is through that channel and through the sick persons that are sometimes on board the Turkish ships arriving from CONSTANTINOPLE, that this disorder breaks out in their town. It seldom happens that it comes thither from SYRIA, because the commodities which that country furnishes to EGYPT through the European vessels, such as tobacco and silk, are by no means susceptible of transmitting it. SMYRNA generally receives it from CONSTANTINOPLE, and sometimes from ALEXANDRIA and SALONICA, through the goods which are brought thither and through the sick who are there landed. The greater part of the islands of the ARCHIPELAGO secure themselves from it by not permitting access to vessels arriving from an infested town. May their example one day enlighten the Turks and make them sensible that man may, to a certain point, keep at a distance and retard the calamities which afflict him, and that the plague makes ravages among them, only because they neglect to take against it the precautions that are taken in EUROPE !

Next to peltry, cotton and wool are reputed the articles the most susceptible of transmitting this disorder : paper is infinitely dreaded, and is not received

without great circumspection. In general, rough bodies catch the taint much more easily, and preserve it much longer than smooth ones. On the smallest suspicion of the plague, the merchants no longer admit the persons with whom they carry on business, but in rooms from which every article of stuff furniture has been removed; they entirely shut their houses if the disease make an alarming progress. In the chanceries of the legations, there is a partition erected which strangers cannot pass, and no paper is received there that has not been fumigated, that is, passed through the very warm vapour of an aromatic substance.

When the merchants are shut up, a known purveyor brings daily to their houses the aliments that are bespoke, and deposits them in a great tub full of water, placed at the entrance of the house. Bread alone is excepted: necessity, no doubt, has established the opinion that it is not susceptible of transmitting the taint of the plague except when it is hot, and that there is nothing to be feared in receiving it cold. It is by means of these precautions, incomplete as they are, that the Europeans secure themselves always from this terrible disorder; but it is necessary that they should exercise an active and strict vigilance in regard to servants, that they should prevent them from going out by stealth or introducing any stranger into the house.

I observed, during the stay that I made in the LEVANT, that if the progress of this malady is sometimes extremely rapid, so much so that the sick person sinks under it the second or third day, it frequently happens, especially at CONSTANTINOPLE and at SMYRNA, where the plague is, as it were, endemical, that it shews itself under an aspect less frightful. On certain occasions, some patients abandoned to themselves recover their health by means of one or two buboes which suppurate abundantly. The progress of the disorder being then slow and uniform, and the symptoms being well characterized,

terized, it would be easy to assist efficaciously those infected persons, to establish a methodical treatment, and employ for the physician and the assistants preservative means.

The unction of all the body of a sick person with olive-oil has lately been made known as a very important discovery, and sure means of cure. Unfortunately experience has demonstrated the inutility of this remedy when the disorder has broken out: olive-oil cannot prevent the virus introduced into the inside of the body from making there its usual ravages; but it may, as well as other oils, butter, and grease, act as an excellent preservative, if it be true, as every one asserts, that the butter-men, whose hands and garments are almost always impregnated with that substance, are scarcely ever attacked by the plague.

It is likewise remarked that the facas or water-carriers are much less exposed to this disorder than other labouring men, and that those who wash the body of persons dead of the plague are not attacked by the disease through this operation: whence it would follow that greasy bodies oppose the introduction of the pestilential venom, and that water carries it off with it.

Many persons are in the habit of keeping open one or more issues in order to preserve themselves from this disease, and, what has been attested to me by a great number of physicians, a person is not attacked by the plague during a venereal treatment, in whatever manner mercury be administered.

It would be very interesting to make, in this respect, experiments which might leave no doubt, and which might tranquillize the persons who should be willing to attend the sick; for, till the present time, almost all the European physicians have constantly refused to give their attendance to such patients, notwithstanding the warmest entreaties and the most advantageous promises;

mises; and he to whom the ardent desire of instructing himself or the satisfaction of assisting his fellow-creatures may have dissembled the dangers which result from the treatment of this disorder, has soon found himself the victim of his zeal and humanity. People are obliged to have recourse to Jewish physicians who are led by a blind routine, governed by false prejudices, and incapable of drawing luminous inductions from the facts of which they are every day witnesses. These physicians, however, take the precaution neither to approach the sick person, touch any thing in his house, nor administer themselves the remedies which they prescribe.

Though I have not myself attended the sick attacked by the plague, though I have not had it in my power to apply myself to the practice of that terrible disorder, I have so frequently had an opportunity of conversing, either at CONSTANTINOPLE, or in the other parts of the LÉVANT, with Greek and Jewish physicians, with persons who have seen and attended patients infected with the plague, or had themselves recovered from this disease, that I think I have acquired respecting it notions sufficiently correct. On my third journey to CONSTANTINOPLE, I caused a trial to be made, through the means of a Jewish physician and of Citizen BRUN, naval architect, some remedies which were crowned with success. I invite those who shall be able to surmount the fear of danger, and who shall be willing to renounce all society during the course of their observations, to follow up the experiments which I have begun, to modify and change the treatment till it gives a happy result. No place is more fit for such observations than the hospice of the Franks or that of the Greeks, because the patients are entirely at the disposal of the physician, and the latter might, besides, take with respect to himself every precaution that he should judge proper.

We have said that in the towns where the plague is habitual and as it were endemical, it shewed itself with symptoms less serious than when it

was epidemical; but when some time has elapsed since it appeared in a country, it generally assumes a character of malignity, so much so that almost all the patients who are attacked by it, die at the expiration of two or three days, sometimes of four or five. It announces itself by an oppression of spirits, and a total loss of strength, vomiting, frequently a sharp pain in the stomach, and a pain in the head more or less violent: the sick person complains of an internal, insupportable heat; he does not long preserve his reason; he soon raves, and, by his gestures and his words, he betrays the fright by which his mind is seized. The pulse is hard, scarcely feverish; it afterwards becomes intermittent and irregular: the patient generally dies in convulsions before a bubo has shewn any sign of suppuration, before it has been well able to make its appearance.

When the disorder manifests itself with this degree of malignity, there can be no hope of recovery. The art of curing in these circumstances is always of no avail; but one may combat it with advantage and obtain several cures, either in the decline of the contagion, or in the years when the plague proceeds with more slowness, and shews itself with symptoms less terrible: then the oppression is less great; the vomiting does not announce itself with a pain in the stomach so acute, the pulse is less concentrated, and the fever more perceptible: the patient preserves his reason for some time, or if he rave, it is only by intervals and in a manner less tumultuous. The bubo, in these cases, makes its appearance on the first or second day, and quickly tends to suppuration. This plague, which might be called *mild*, comparatively to the other, is, nevertheless, a disorder also very dangerous, because scarcely one third of the sick recover their health.

When the bubo is in full suppuration, the fever insensibly diminishes, the appetite returns, and the patient by degrees recovers his strength; but if, through any mistake in his regimen, through any excess, or through any
cause

cause frequently unknown, the suppuration of the bubo cease entirely, or diminish all at once, the patient dies on the second or third day at latest, with another bubo which scarcely shews itself.

Sweats do not appear till the pulse is developed, and the disorder assumes a favourable aspect; this happens commonly on the fourth or fifth day: they give considerable relief, and prevent not the suppuration of the bubo.

Nature indicates that the plague cannot be cured without the sudden appearance and the abundant suppuration of one or more buboes: all the efforts of the physician should therefore tend to provoke, as quickly as possible, this suppuration, by the application of the actual cautery or of a burning iron to the place where the buboes begin to shew themselves: this method is preferable to that of a blister, because it is more expeditious, and one has not to fear the action of the cantharides, which would not fail to increase the internal heat of which the patient constantly complains.

Recourse must quickly be had to an emetic in order to clear the stomach, and to follow likewise the indications which naturally present themselves. Vomiting is one of the first symptoms of the disorder; it scarcely ever fails to take place and to relieve the patient when it is abundant. Tartar emetic is that which appeared to me the most proper and the most safe.

Bleeding cannot be suitable in any case; it is never employed by the physicians of the country; it is even considered as hurtful; it would diminish the strength of the patient, and counteract the eruption and the suppuration of the bubo.

The day after the emetic, I have prescribed, with some success, an infusion of camomile, at the same time adding to every half glass two drops of
volatile

volatile alkali fluor or of ammoniac, which was given every three hours; and at night half a drachm of diascordium and as much theriaca. In lieu of volatile alkali, I administered to some workmen belonging to the arsenal, concerning whom Citizen BRUN interested himself, twenty grains of flour of sulphur every six hours, in a glass of the same infusion. On the second and third day, from what I afterwards learnt, the physician considerably increased the dose, so much so that it operated as an emetic and cathartic, and excited a copious sweat. The bubo suppurated very well, and these patients perfectly recovered.

It is necessary to purge from time to time when the disorder is prolonged, and the patient begins to grow better, and to keep up his strength by meat broths, and even by a light diet more substantial. In the beginning, on the contrary, nothing but light rice creams, barley water, or gruel should be allowed; the patient must be made to take a ptisan of barley and liquorice root, to which shall be added, according to circumstances, a little nitre.

The treatment established by the people of the country, consists in giving (except to scrupulous Mussulmans) spirituous liquors, such as brandy, in the intention of driving out the venom and provoking the issue of a bubo. The sick person is then made to swallow the urine of one in health, in which the juice of two or three lemons has been squeezed. The expressed juice of parsley is also given; this last is regarded by the Jewish physicians, as one of the best remedies against the plague. They also prescribe opiates into the composition of which enters, among various cordials and tonics, musk, amber, and above all animal bezoar. When the bubo appears, they apply to it a plaster made with the yolk of an egg, and verdigrise or alum reduced to powder.

Garlic, onion, vinegar, and particularly brandy, are considered by the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, as preservatives against the plague. Most

of them keep in their hands some labdanum *, an aromatic substance which heat softens and renders more odoriferous; they turn it again and again in every way between the fingers, and smell to it from time to time, and especially when they are in fear of any dangerous emanations. Some, in the same view, carry about them-musk, ambergris, or camphire.

No one doubts in the LEVANT, that a person can have the plague several times: the opinion of physicians, on this subject, is perfectly conformable to that of the public; and I have myself seen on several persons the scar of two or three buboes which had saved them as many times. Observation proves every day in TURKEY, that the plague attacks indifferently him who has escaped it one or more times, and him who has never had it; therefore the proposal made by some physicians to inoculate that disorder, as we inoculate the small-pox, is at least ridiculous: it would be far more rational to propose the means of causing it disappear from the Ottoman Empire and from BARBARY, as it is made to disappear from the civilized States of EUROPE.

It has frequently been remarked at CONSTANTINOPLE, that domestic animals were not exempt from the plague. They are, indeed, less susceptible than man of being attacked by it, and it is scarcely but in the years when the disorder shews itself with all its intenseness, that it makes ravages among them. Several intelligent persons assured me that dogs, in every case, escaped in greater number than man from this disease, and that they had, like him, buboes the suppuration of which was more or less abundant.

It would be very important, no doubt, to inquire into the origin of this disease, to observe the nature of its venom, and to explain why, being so con-

* Labdanum is extracted from a species of rock-rose, and gathered in *Greece*, in the Islands of the *Archipelago*, in *Crete*, and at *Cyprus*.

tagious, so quick, and so terrible, it is not transmitted by the air, and cannot be communicated without the immediate contact of a sick person, or an object touched by him. It would be interesting to know what are the objects susceptible or not of transmitting this venom, and how long a time it can be preserved; what is the degree of heat or cold that causes it to disappear; what are the substances which can secure one from it, and to what degree they can do so. It would result, perhaps, from these inquiries, that this virus is analogous to that of the itch, of syphilis, of madness, and of all the disorders which, in man and in animals, are only contagious through immediate contact; and then it might be possible to find among the preparations of metals and semi-metals, if not the specific for the plague, at least a remedy that might cure it in several instances.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the ulemas.—Difference between this body and the ministers of religion.—Tribunals of justice.—Of inheritance.

IN every country on earth, the ministers and interpreters of religion enjoy very great privileges; but in none, without doubt, are the advantages which they derive from their profession so great as in TURKEY. Here they possess the most lucrative employments; they join judicial to religious power; they are at the same time interpreters of religion and judges of all civil and criminal affairs; they are secure from the extortions of the pachas and great men of the empire: they cannot be legally put to death without the consent of their chief: their property, after their decease, passes as a right to their heirs, without the imperial treasury being able to appropriate it to itself. They form, in short, under the name of *ulemas*, a corporation, highly considered, powerful, and formidable sometimes to the throne itself, from their directing almost always public opinion, and from there being, perhaps, no government where public opinion is pronounced with so much strength and success as in TURKEY.

We must not, however, confound these magistrates, these doctors of law with the *imams* who serve the mosques, with the *muezins*, whose employment is to ascend five times a day to the minarets in order to summon the Mussulmans to prayers: the latter are not admitted into the august body of the *ulemas*: they are turned out of office, or if they voluntarily quit their functions, they return into the class of simple private persons. Subject, like the other Turks, to the magistrate of the place who appoints them on the presentation that is
made

made to him by the people, the imans are not under the particular inspection nor under the safe-guard of the mufti and the mollahs. They may certainly be considered as ministers of religion in the mosques, but it is the ulemas who are its depositaries and interpreters.

The Koran, as is well known, is the civil and criminal code of the Mussulmans, the regulator of the rights and duties of all the citizens: all judgments, all sentences, all decisions must have emanated from this book reputed sacred, or from the interpretations which commentators have given of it, in this prerogative resides exclusively in the hands of the ulemas.

The following is in a few words the order presented by this body, the most respectable and the best informed of the Ottoman Empire.

The mufti or sheik-islam is the supreme chief of the religion of MAHOMET, the oracle who is consulted, and who solves all the questions which are put to him: his decisions are called *fetfas*. The sultan has recourse to him in all difficult and intricate cases, and he promulgates no law, makes no declaration of war, establishes no impost without having obtained a *fetfa*. It is the mufti who girds on the sultan's sword on his accession to the throne, at the same time reminding him of the obligation of defending the religion of the prophet and of propagating its creed.

This eminent place might serve, no doubt, as a counterpoise to the almost absolute and unlimited authority of the sovereign: it might even frequently paralyze it, if the latter had not the power of appointing the mufti, of deposing him, of banishing him, and even of putting him to death after having deposed him; and, indeed, it seldom happens that a mufti opposes the will of the sultan and his ministers. His *fetfas* are forced from him by the wish of preserving his place and by the fear of death: yet more than once religious
zeal

zeal and probity have induced some to present themselves to the sultan, and to make to him observations and remonstrances; some even, more fanatic and more courageous, braving every danger, have refused to condescend to his wishes. History affords various examples of sultans and vizirs killed or deposed through the great influence of the muftis on public opinion; but it likewise presents more muftis who have been victims of their zeal for religion and of their attachment to the interests of the people.

The mufti resides at CONSTANTINOPLE and enjoys several appanages: he is treated with much attention by the sultan; both the great and the people shew him the utmost respect, and submit blindly to his fetas. According to the established order, he must be chosen from among the kadilekiers of ROMANIA and those who have occupied that employment. Seldom does favour there lead to the appointment of a kadilekier of NATOLIA, a stambol-effendi, or a simple molla: he remains in place as long as it pleases the sultan to keep him there.

In public ceremonies the mufti and the grand vizir walk on the same line, the grand vizir on the right, and the mufti on the left. When the latter is disgraced, he is not permitted to remain in the capital: the sultan fears the influence of a man whom the people are accustomed to regard as the oracle of religion. He is banished to some island of the ARCHIPELAGO or to some house situated on the BOSPHORUS, with a prohibition to stir out of it, to receive any of the principal officers of the empire, or to correspond with them.

The mufti presents annually a list to the sultan for the nomination of two kadilekiers, of the stambol-effendi, of the mollas of MECCA and of MEDINA, of those of BURSA, ADRIANOPLE, CAIRO, and DAMASCUS, as well as of those of JERUSALEM, ALEPPO, SMYRNA, LARISSA, SALONICA, SCUTARI, GALATA, and AIJUF. It is commonly according to the rank of seniority that
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the choice is made, when favour does not call thither some protected person or the son of some great man.

There are at CONSTANTINOPLE two kadileskers, that of ROMANIA or of TURKEY in EUROPE, and that of NATOLIA or of TURKEY in ASIA. They were formerly the judges of military men, the former for European TURKEY, and the latter for the Asiatic countries, when the sultan commanded them in person. The kadilesker of ROMANIA was then charged to decide on the affairs of the Mussulmans, and the other on those of the tributary subjects. For some time past, the former has the pre-eminence over the latter, and determines alone all the causes carried to his tribunal by the sole will and at the request of the plaintiffs. The tribunal of the kadilesker of NATOLIA has been a long time suppressed as useless. They both assist at the divan of the grand visir, hear and discuss the business brought before them, after which the kadilesker of ROMANIA alone pronounces the sentence. They remain in place only a year; but the kadilesker of NATOLIA generally succeeds that of ROMANIA, and the former has before passed through the same rank. They appoint all the simple cadis of the empire; which makes their place, in a country where every thing is venal, very lucrative, independently of the appanages which they possess. The kadilesker of ROMANIA appoints the cadis of TURKEY in EUROPE, and that of NATOLIA appoints those of ASIA and EGYPT.

After them comes the stambol-effendi, molla or judge of the capital. It is he who more particularly takes cognizance of all the affairs, of all the law-suits which arise among persons who exercise the different arts and trades. He also repairs on the Wednesday of every week to the visir's, in order to determine with the mollas of GALATA, SCUTARI, and AIJUP*, all the affairs

* AIJUP is one of the suburbs of Constantinople.

which there present themselves. He has several tribunals in different quarters of CONSTANTINOPLE, where he places a naib or lieutenant, to determine without appeal like himself.

The stambol-effendi has the general inspection of the grain and other provisions which arrive for the supply of the city. All the vessels laden with grain are obliged to come to the landing-place of the general depot of flour, *sun-capan*, where a naib inspects it, fixes the price of it, and distributes it to the bakers: he keeps a register of the quantity of corn which arrives, of that which is distributed, and of the price at which it is delivered. There is likewise a naib at the depot of tallow, *yac-capan*, for the distribution of that article to the corporations. The stambol-effendi must go from time to time into the different quarters of the city, in order to examine the eatables which are sold by retail, and to verify whether the weights are every where just. He immediately punishes with the bastinado those who are found with false weights, or with adulterated commodities, and sometimes he causes them to be nailed by the ear to the door of the shop. A second transgression is almost always punished with death.

The stambol-effendi remains in office but one year: he generally passes to that of kadilefker of NATOLIA, and is appointed from among the mallas of MECCA and MEDINA.

To the imperial mosques of CONSTANTINOPLE, BURSA, and ADRIANOPLE, are attached *madressés* or colleges, to which are sent, from all parts of the empire, young people to be instructed in the law of the prophet, in religious, civil, and criminal jurisprudence, and to learn all the opinions, all the subtleties of the commentators of the Koran. They are made to undergo various examinations, and when they are thought sufficiently well informed, they are given the rank of *muderis* or professor. These colleges were
founded

founded by different sultans. The first was founded at NICEA, in the year 1330, by ORKHAN. They enjoy a considerable revenue, and provide for the support of two or three thousand scholars.

The muderis who are not willing to follow the career of professor and obtain the eminent rank of molla, solicit of the kadilekers a place of cadi, which is easily gained in return for a pecuniary sacrifice. In the towns the least important of the empire, there is a simple cadi, who judges without appeal all litigious affairs, not only of the Mussulmans, but even those of the Jews and Christians. Frequently a lieutenant, called *naib*, occupies the place of a cadi or of a molla, and judges like them without appeal: the *naib* is a muderis, and runs the career of magistracy. He is generally appointed cadi the following year, and sent to another post. The cadis remain in this rank, and obtain no other advancement than that of a tribunal more extensive and consequently more lucrative. They, nevertheless, become mollas of an inferior rank: such are those of BAGDAD, PHILOPOPOLIS, &c. but they cannot become kadilekers, muftis, &c. unless they enter the grand mosque of SOLIMANI and continue their studies.

The muderis who intend themselves for the most important places, those of molla, kadileker, and mufti, pass, after fresh examinations, to the mosque of *SULKIMANI* or of *SOLIMAN I.*, and wait till their turn, their merit, or their interest procures them an appointment. Eight among them, under the name of *makhredjé*, are appointed every year mollas or judges of the towns of JERUSALEM, ALEPPO, SMYRNA, LARISSA, CALONICA, SCUTARI, GALATA, and AIJUP. Four, among the latter, are afterwards named to the cities of BURSA, ADRIANOPLE, CAIRO, and DAMASCUS, and the following year two of these become mollas of MECCA and of MEDINA: from among these last is taken the stambol-effendi. Thus it is that, successively in their turn, they arrive at the places of kadileker and even of mufti.

For a *muderis* to obtain the favour of passing to the mosque of *SULEIMANI*, and run the career of high magistracy, he must be protected or shew ardent zeal for religion, distinguished talents, great application to study, and very austere manners.

The *mollas*, the *kadileskers*, and others who are not employed, and who are waiting their turn to be so, have appanages or benefices called *ar-paliks*. Several obtain inferior tribunals, where they place *naïbs* who discharge their functions, and to whom they grant only a part of the income.

Frequently the *pachas* and great officers of state cause one or more of their sons to be received into the body of the *ulemas*, in order to have it in their power to transmit to them their property, and by these means withdraw it from the confiscation which the sultan has a right to make of it after their death. In this case, they content themselves with calling under their roof professors to instruct their sons, and to make them undergo the examinations prescribed by the law: they get them admitted as *muderis*, and, if favour second their ambition, they cause them to pass through all the ranks of *mollas*, without performing the duties of them, and without receiving the income, the place being occupied by another. The sultan, always above the law, creates *ulemas* at pleasure; which is the reason that, for some time past, there have been a great many ignorant *mollas* and *cadis*. The appointments of favour have been very prejudicial to that body, and have diminished the consideration which it enjoyed. It is no longer so formidable to the throne, as it was formerly; for a simple pacha frequently procures the exile of a *cadi* who counteracts him or opposes his will. It happens too that when the sultan wishes to put to death an *ulema* whose zeal and courage give him umbrage, he endeavours by feigned caresses, to make him accept a *pachalik* or any other employment: then become agent of the government, he orders his head to be cut off without any formality.

In some of the provincial towns, are mustis of a rank inferior to that of *muftis*, whose functions consist in interpreting the Koran, and its commentaries, assisting at great assemblies, and giving their opinion on all the questions which are there agitated. Their opinions frequently differ in matters of jurisprudence, but they are nearly the same in religious affairs; which causes them all to be considered as orthodox. They are appointed for life by the musti of the capital, and have fixed salaries. They are not judges of the town where they are placed; they are there only as lawyers. They are *muderis*, and as such associated to the body of the *ulemas*; but they have renounced magistracy, and can obtain no other advancement than that of being sent by favour into a town more considerable.

The immediate ministers of religion, as I have before mentioned, make no part of the body of *ulemas*: they can, nevertheless, be admitted into it, either by undergoing examinations and getting themselves received as *muderis*, or by obtaining through favour a place of provincial musti, of *cadi*, or of *naib*. If, after having occupied with distinction these employments, they get themselves admitted into the body of the *muderis*, and wish to pass to the mosque of SOLIMAN, they can then arrive at the most eminent places of judicature. The first rank among them is that of *schcik* or preacher, whose function is to preach in the mosques every Friday after the noon prayer, and even oftener when there are foundations for that purpose. The *schciks* of the fourteen imperial mosques of CONSTANTINOPLE are the most considered in the empire, and are appointed by the musti; those of the other mosques are named by the magistrate of the place or of the district.

The *khatibs* have no other employment than that of discharging, in imitation of the prophet and of the first caliphs, and in the place of the sultan who represents them, the functions of *imameth* or of the priesthood, at the solemn prayer which takes place on the Friday, and of reciting the *khoutbé*

or public profession respecting the unity and the attributes of the Supreme Being, accompanied by a prayer for the preservation and prosperity of the Sultan, and for the success of his arms against the infidels. They are appointed by a *khatty-scherif*, signed by the hand of the sultan.

The *iman* recites in a loud voice, in the mosque, five times a day, except at the solemn Friday's prayer, the *namaz*, which the persons present repeat in a low tone; he at the same time performs the ceremonies which accompany that prayer; he assists at circumcision and interments; in a word, he discharges all the functions which worship requires.

In the early ages of Mahometanism, *iman* signified and designated the pontiff or the supreme chief of Islamism: the successors of the first four caliphs took only the title of *iman-ul-muslimin*, pontiff of the Mussulmans. The doctors and interpreters of the law were afterwards decorated with it, and, for some time past, it has no longer been given to any but the ministers of religion.

The functions of *muezim* are to ascend five times a day to the minaret, there to proclaim aloud the profession of faith of MAHOMET, invite the Mussulmans to prayer, and sing, on festivals, different hymns. For that purpose, young men, whose voice is strong, clear, and sonorous, are chosen; for the Turks take a great pleasure in hearing good singing on the minarets. In the little mosques, the *muezims* sweep and arrange the carpets, light the lamps, &c.; but this function, in the great ones, is reserved for other young men called *cayims*. In the greater part of the villages, and even in some mosques of the towns, whose revenue is too limited, the *iman* discharges at the same time the functions of *scheik*, *khatib*, *iman*, *muezim*, and *cayim*. The mosques of the second order, called *mesjids*, have no need of a *khatib*, because they have not the right to celebrate the solemn prayer of Friday.

In TURKEY, are not known that multitude of counsellors, attornies, clerks, ~~butts~~, judges in the first, second, and third instance, who, in EUROPE, multiply, without end, the expenses of a trial, and that chicane, those subtleties, those forms, those delays, those appeals, which render them interminable : neither are there known those officious defenders, often worse than the counsellors and attornies whose place they have supplied among us, and whose greedy cupidity sometimes leaves to the man, too simple or too sanguine, nothing but tears to shed and regret to express.

A *mékemé* or tribunal of justice is composed of a judge molla, cadi, or naïb, and of one or several writers. Almost all causes, as well civil as criminal, are determined according to the deposition of two or more witnesses. Every writing is of no value, and is not admitted in justice, if it bear not the signature or the seal of two persons known and settled as housekeepers. The parties present themselves, plead their cause, which is tried without appeal, and without any other expense than ten per cent. of the sum or the value in dispute. The judge appropriates to himself a fine more or less heavy, when there is no question of an affair of interest : and, in order that he may not lose his fees, it is always the gainer of the cause who pays the costs.

In a country where the laws are simple and by no means numerous, where the rights of all are traced in a book understood to be written by the hand of the messenger of God, trials must be far from complicated, rather rare, and easy to be avoided. Every one knows the extent of his duties, and the limits of his rights. Every one can be his own judge, when he does not give way to a vicious inclination, when he is not misled by dishonesty.

But it must be confessed that if trials are more rare and less expensive than among us, if the same day which witnesses the origin of a dispute sees, in

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a manner, its termination, justice is not, on that account, better administered : the venality of all employments has introduced into every profession and into every class of the inhabitants of this empire, an avidity for gain and such a corruption, that the smallest favour, the smallest service are obtained only by presents. A person purchases the sentence of the judge and the deposition of the witnesses, as you purchase an employment, as you purchase the favour of a man in place. In no country on earth are false witnesses so common and so shameless as in TURKEY, and it seldom happens that a *cadi* or a *molla* is bold enough to resist the will of a *pacha*, or the solicitations of a great man, and virtuous enough to disdain the gold which is offered them by the pleaders.

The Mussulmans have such a contempt for all those who profess a religion different from theirs, that they do not, in general, admit as evidence, in affairs which concern them, Jews and Christians, in opposition to Turkish witnesses ; or if they admit them sometimes, they have so little respect for them, that ten witnesses, among them, are not worth one single Mussulman witness. It is the same in the affairs which do not regard them : the testimony of a Mussulman cannot, in any case, be balanced by that of several Jews or Christians.

TOURNEFORT was mistaken, when he says that, at CONSTANTINOPLE, a person could appeal from the sentence of a *cadi* : Europeans alone enjoy that advantage, when the sum in litigation exceeds 4000 aspres or nearly the value of 66 livres, supposing the piastre at 2 livres. In all the towns of TURKEY, the *molla*, the *cadi*, and the simple *naib*, judge without appeal : they condemn to fines, to corporal punishments, or to death, without the delinquent or person accused having it in his power to have recourse to another tribunal.

Europeans have also the advantage of paying no more than three per cent. in lieu of ten, which is paid by all the inhabitants of the country; but it may easily be conceived that a judge, ever ready to receive money from one of the parties, cannot bring himself to decide a cause in favour of an European, if he do not promise him beforehand the ten per cent. and even a present calculated on the importance of the trial.

The merchants are, in general, averse to carrying their disputes to the capital, because they are not willing to go far from the place of their occupations, and because they rather frequently mistrust the probity and the zeal of the droguemans charged, in that case, with presenting their cause at the audience of the visir, and with prosecuting the trial of it. They prefer making sacrifices which are prejudicial to commerce in general, because the dishonest man who cheats with impunity, very often finds imitators; whence it follows that confidence is destroyed, credit becomes more rare, and the operations of trade diminish, or present many more difficulties.

The formula observed in all cases by lawyers, consists in the clear and simple exposition of the fact, presented to the judge by one of his clerks: the answer which he puts at the bottom in a few words, is only the application of the law. The sentence pronounced in a mékemé is called *ilam*, and the order signified to a person to repair to the tribunal, to pay such a sum, to go to prison, &c. is called *muraşclé*.

The muftis of the provinces frequently assist at the mékemés, and are consulted in matters purely religious, and in affairs of high importance; but it is always the ordinary judge who pronounces the *ilam*.

There are divers tribunals in the remote quarters and in the suburbs of CONSTANTINOPLE, where a naib tries without appeal all the causes which
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are presented. Every one has, nevertheless, the right to carry his affair directly to the stambol-effendi, molla or judge of CONSTANTINOPLE, or to the kadilesker of ROMANIA: but a great number prefer carrying it to the *divan* of the grand visir, that is to say, to the PORTE or to the *arzodassé*, that is, to the audience-chamber of the grand-visir, although in these last two cases, it is the kadilesker of ROMANIA who pronounces the sentence: that of NATOLIA is present without pronouncing; he is merely consulted in affairs a little intricate.

What determines people to carry an affair into the two tribunals of the grand-visir, is that false witnesses dread to come thither, because, being interrogated in his presence, he can send them to prison, order them to be cudgelled, and even cause their hands to be cut off if he perceive that they give a false evidence; while the judges have not the same right, but sometimes find themselves compelled to pronounce their sentence according to the deposition of the witnesses, notwithstanding the conviction which they have of their dishonesty.

The two kadileskers assist on Friday only at the *divan* and the *arzodassé* of the grand-visir. The stambol-effendi and the mollas of GALATA, SCUTARI, and AIYUB assist there on Wednesday, and, like the others, sit first at the *arzodassé*, and then at the *divan*. The stambol-effendi pronounces the sentences on that day, as the kadilesker of ROMANIA pronounces them on the Friday.

Every judge, in his department, causes to be performed by one of his writers the duties of *caffam*, which consist in presenting themselves at the houses of all the deceased in order to affix seals, make out an inventory of the inheritance, and distribute it to the right heirs, according to the laws, or according to the intentions of the testator.

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When a pacha or any other agent of the government dies, his property belongs of right to the public treasury, because the law supposes that this property arises from the public money, or from extortions committed on the people; which is almost always true in Turkey. The sultan sends a capidgi-bachi or one of his pages, to recover it; but he never touches the personals, the jewels, and property which belong to the women. He even rather frequently grants a part of the property to the children, as a reward for the services of the father; and sometimes he gives up to them the whole, when the succession is scarcely sufficient for their wants. On the death of the reis-effendi RASCHID, which happened in the year VI. (1798) a little time before our departure from CONSTANTINOPLE, sultan SELIM contented himself with taking a rich cangear*: he gave up to the family the sum of thirty purses (30,000 livres or 1250l. sterling) which RASCHID owed to the mint, and made them a present besides of eighty purses (80,000 livres or 2334l. sterling,) through gratitude for the services, the zeal, and the talents of that minister.

It frequently happens that an arrangement is made, by which the relations of the deceased keep all the property that he had, for a sum of money paid into the public treasury; and often, through this very arrangement, the son succeeds to the employment of the father.

When an agent of the government has caused to be received into the body of the ulemas one or more of his sons, the property which he has settled on them, the purchases which he has made in their name, belong to them, and the imperial treasury always respects them. As for the mallas and the cadis, as we have before said, through a prerogative attached to their body, all their property is transmitted entire to their children or their heirs, whatever may be their profession or their rank in society.

* A large knife which the Mussulmans wear in their girdle, the handle of which is of silver, gold, ivory, jasper, or coral, enriched with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds.

This prerogative, attached to the body of the ulemas, must necessarily, in a few generations, accumulate immense riches in the hands of some individuals, if the son followed the career of his father, and limited his ambition to occupying the eminent, lucrative, and honourable places of magistracy; but almost all, in the view of obtaining greater consequence, and more extensive power, disdain the employments of their father, and solicit places of minister and pacha, which they almost always obtain by means of their riches. Then become agents of the government, all their property returns, at their death, into the public treasury, and the children are left at the mercy of the sultan.

A Mussulman or any other subject, who possesses no administrative or military place, is master of his property, and transmits it to his heirs: he may dispose, if he chooses, of a third of his fortune, when he has children or relations, and of the whole when he has none at all. If he die intestate and without natural known heirs, the *beitalmalldgi*, or farmer of casual property, causes a sale to be made of his effects, moveable or immoveable, of which the *cassam* makes a memorandum, and takes possession of their produce in the name of the imperial treasury. Should an heir some time after present himself, who can prove to the *mékemé* his relationship, the *beitalmalldgi* is obliged to restore the property of the deceased. There are, for these little successions, particular farms, united, in the provinces, to the other rights of the pachas, mutselims, or waiwodes. CONSTANTINOPLE, on account of its extent, has a particular farmer for that object; but if the succession exceed 2500 piastrres (5000 livres or 208l. sterling) the farmer has not the right of appropriating it to himself; it is paid directly into the public treasury.

There are four cases in which inheritance cannot take place: these are when there is, 1. difference of religion: 2. difference of country: 3. slavery: 4. assassination or poisoning.

1. A Christian, a Jew, or a Mussulman cannot inherit the one from the other. A father and his sons, or two brothers, of different religion, cannot transmit to each other their successions. The Greeks and the Armenians, Schismatic or Roman, being considered by the law, as Christians, cannot succeed to each other.

2. By difference of country, is understood Mussulman country, and country not Mussulman. A man charged with a mission by the government, or absent for affairs of trade, without an intention of expatriating himself, is not excluded from the right of inheritance.

3. A slave cannot inherit from his master, as long as he is in a state of slavery.

4. A person cannot inherit from his parent whom he may have killed or poisoned, although he were absolved of the crime.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the pachas, waiwodes, and mufelims.—Of the beylers-beys, sangiaks-beys, zaïms, and timariots.—Of the janizaries, spahis, and other military men.—Limits of the power of the fultan and of the pachas:

IF the judicial power, as well as the religious, resides in the hands of the ulemas, the pachas unite the military power with the administrative: they are governors, military commanders, and intendants of their provinces; and, through an abuse infinitely prejudicial to the interests of the people, the greater part of them hold at the same time the general farm of the taxes. The pacha with three tails is invested with a very great authority; he has, like the fultan whom he represents, the terrible right of punishing with death all the agents that he employs, without any other formality than that of giving an account to the fultan of the motives which determined him to this act of justice, severity, or rigour. He maintains a military establishment more or less numerous, according to the position and the revenues of the pachalik, and marches at the head of the armed force of all his department when he is required to do so by the sovereign, or when the frontier is threatened. He superintends the assessment of the taxes, the repairing and the keeping in order of public edifices, fortresses, &c.

The pacha with two tails has not a power so extensive, nor a department so considerable: he cannot put any one to death without a legal trial; he is, like another, chief of the armed force of his department; but when he takes the field, he is obliged to unite his standards to those of the pacha with three tails, and to march under his orders.

The *mutfelim* is a deputy-governor, a lieutenant of the pacha ; he enjoys, in his district, all the rights given him by the power of execution: he is chief of the armed force ; but he is subject in every thing to the pacha on whom he depends, and whose orders he receives.

The *waiwode* is governor of a small province, or of a town which, not making part of a pachalik, is sometimes the appanage of a sultana, of the grand visir, of the captain-pacha, or of any other great officer of the empire. He enjoys all the prerogatives of a pacha with two tails, but he occupies an inferior rank. When he is required to march at the head of the armed force of his department, he joins his colours to those of the pacha with three tails. Both the one and the other are charged with carrying into execution, in their provinces, the sentences pronounced by the judges.

In the islands of the ARCHIPELAGO, the Mussulman or Greek simply charged by the PORTE with the gathering of the tax and with the police of the place, is likewise distinguished by the name of *waiwode*.

To the governors of provinces were formerly given indifferently the names of pacha and of *beyler-bey* : the latter at this day is reserved for the pachas of MANASTIR and of CUTAYÉ : they have the pre-eminence over the other pachas, and generally command the troops which are brought into the field. The beyler-bey of MANASTIR has under his orders the European troops, and the beyler-bey of CUTAYÉ those of ASIA. They are, nevertheless, subordinate to the grand-visir when the latter takes the general command of the armies.

A pachalik is divided as to the military part, into a certain number of districts called *sangiaks* or *standards*. The janizaries, the spahis, the zaïms, and the timariots of the district are obliged, in case of war, to unite under the colours

colours of the military commander, called *sangiak-bey*, and to wait for the commands of the pacha of the province, in order to march against the enemy, punish some rebel, or subdue some revolted province.

In proportion as the Turks drove the Greeks from ASIA MINOR and EUROPE, and established themselves on their territory, they created a sort of feudal system no less oppressive than that from which our ancestors have had so long to suffer. Masters, according to their customs, of the fortune, of the liberty, and of the life of the people that they had conquered, the sultans disposed at their pleasure, after each victory, of the lands which they had just united to their empire: they granted for ever, without quitrent, some portions of them near the towns and within their walls, to the officers and soldiers whose zeal and bravery they wished to reward: they destined a tolerably great number of them to religious worship; they reserved some, as an appanage, for the great administrative and judicial employments; they erected others into lordships, under the names of *zaïm* and *timar*, to be given for life, as military rewards and encouragements.

Almost all the rich Greeks were dispossessed of their property: most of the opulent men were unmercifully murdered, and their estates confiscated. As for the lands divided into small portions, some were the prey of the conqueror, the others remained in the hands of their old proprietors, with the power for all to transmit them to their heirs, to sell them and exchange them; but they were oppressed by an annual quitrent; namely, by a fifth of their produce for the rayas or infidels, and by a seventh only for those which fell to the Mussulmans.

Those who possess a *zaïm* or a *timar*, are honoured with the title of *aga*: they are bound to a military personal service, and obliged to bring with them, to war, one or more *gébélis*, horsemen or foot-soldiers, armed and equipped ac-

according to the revenue and extent of the lordship. The timar differs in no respect from the zaïm, except that it is of less value, and that the aga who possesses it, does not arm as many horsemen and foot-soldiers as the other.

The number of zaïms, in TURKEY in EUROPE, is nine hundred and fourteen, and that of the timars is eight thousand three hundred and fifty-six. Nearly the same number is reckoned in ASIA; which furnishes, with the gé-bélis, a militia of upwards of sixty thousand men better disciplined and more inured to war than the spahis and the janizaries. This militia for a long time constituted the principal force of the Ottoman Empire: to this it is principally that the first sultans were indebted for the astonishing success of their arms, and the rapid progress which they made in a little time in ASIA, in EUROPE, and even in AFRICA.

On the death of a ziamet or of a timariot, the sultan is to draw a year's revenue from the lordship, and, nevertheless, give it up again to the son of an aga, a spahis or any other military man, especially to him who, by a brilliant action, has distinguished himself in a battle; who has mounted the first to the assault, has penetrated into the enemy's entrenchments, has killed a great number of infidels, or contributed to put them to the rout. But since the sultans prefer to the fatigues of war, to the dangers of battle, the tranquillity of their seraglio, and the pleasures of their harem; since, above all, a mean and inconsiderate cupidity has caused to be put up to auction the places intended formerly for valour and merit, the lordships are become the patrimony of the rich and of intriguers. The courage of the soldier has no longer been stimulated by the hope of plunder, that of making prisoners or of obtaining a few pieces of money which the general sometimes causes to be distributed after the battle, to those who have brought in enemies' heads. Thus it is that the best institutions degenerate; thus it is that the Mussulman formerly intrepid and valiant, is no longer any thing but a vile-plunderer or a ferocious assassin;

thus

thus it is that the Ottoman armies, so formidable to their enemies, are become an object of contempt or pity, and that this vast empire would already no longer be in existence, were not some European powers interested in its support.

The aga at the present day obtains, in his life-time, with tolerable facility, the grant of the lordship which he enjoys, in favour of one or more of his sons, for a sum of money inferior to that which is paid when it is put up to auction; but if he neglect this precaution, at his death his son is dispossessed if he do not outbid the competitors, or if, powerfully protected, he do not at least pay the price offered by another.

Most of the agas, little accustomed to the fatigues of war and to the privations which it necessitates, for a long time past have exempted themselves, under various pretexts, from military service: they always find the pachas and the fangiaks-beys disposed to receive a present from them, and grant them the exemption which they request. They frequently get their place supplied by some volunteer, or if they themselves join their colours, they never want pretexts for quitting them before the end of the campaign and returning to their home.

The cultivators are free and independent, in consideration of the quitrent to which they are subject; they may establish whatever culture they think the most suitable to their interests, without the aga having a right to molest them; but too frequently the latter abuses his influence, his riches, and above all the police which he exercises in his village. He exacts, with the rod in his hand, for particular lands which he possesses, the gratuitous labour of the cultivators: he causes provisions, wine excepted *, to be sold to him at the

* Mussulmans are forbidden to make, drink, or purchase wine.

price which he himself determines; he makes the advances of the *karatch* * at an interest extremely usurious; in a word, he torments in a thousand ways the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews of his village; but he is more reserved towards the Mussulmans, because the complaints of the latter are always more favourably heard, because he would infallibly be removed from his office, and even more severely punished, if all the Turks of the village, protected or supported by some powerful enemy of the aga, rose at the same time and demanded justice.

Throughout the whole empire there are two sorts of organized troops, the one of cavalry, the other of infantry, the *spahis* and the *janizaries*. The former are spread over all the towns, and more particularly in the country-places: they are almost all married and settled; they exercise different professions or sometimes apply themselves to the culture of the land; they receive a daily pay, have their officers, and assemble at the first order, armed and equipped, under the colours of their district.

The *spahis* are a more ancient corps than the *janizaries*: they have more pay, and are understood to be the sons of Mussulmans in a certain degree of affluence; they fight under the same ensigns as the *ziamets* and the *timariots*, and ought to succeed them in the possession of their fiefs, if the regulations of the first sultans were more respected, or the national interest a little more consulted.

Under the first sultans, the *spahis* formed the principal strength of the Ottoman armies. Almost always in the field, familiarized to military exercises, hardened to the fatigues of war, stimulated by interest, glory, religious fanaticism, and by the example of the sultan, it is not surprising that nothing should

* Capitation or personal impost to which non-Mussulmans are subject.

withstand their arms, and that the Greeks, enervated by luxury and riches, solely occupied by intrigues and theological questions, should be as soon subjugated as conquered.

In the reign of AMURAT I a fifth part of all the prisoners was begun to be taken for the purpose of forming a new corps of infantry, under the name of *yenitcheeri*, janizaries, or new militia. The necessities of the war afterwards produced another law which incorporated in this corps a tenth part of the children of the Christians, and which was in vigour till the reign of AMURAT IV. Under that of SOLIMAN I. there were already one hundred and sixty-one *odas* * of janizaries at CONSTANTINOPLE, each of which contained from three to five hundred persons.

At present none but Mussulmans are received into this militia: they are scattered and organized in all the towns. Those who inscribe their names in it receive a daily pay, and join their colours whenever they are required. In the large towns and in the fortresses, they are divided into chambers; they are subject to patrols, to different expeditions, to the guard of gates, &c. The greater part are married, settled, and exercise different professions. These renounce all promotion, and generally exempt themselves, under various pretexts, from joining their colours.

Many rich persons, in the towns, enlist among the janizaries, in the view only of being more effectually protected, and of enjoying all the privileges attached to that corps. They receive no pay, and, for a little money, easily exempt themselves from all military service.

The commandant-general of this troop is called *janizary-aga*; he resides at CONSTANTINOPLE; and, although he enjoys great power, and great consider-

* *Oda*, chamber, or company.

ation, he has a rank inferior to that of pacha. In most of the towns where the pachas with three tails reside, there is likewise a janizary-aga, divisional general of the infantry of the whole province. He is subject to the pacha, whose orders he receives and executes.

During several reigns, religious fanaticism, the hope of plunder, and the presence of the sovereign rendered the janizaries extremely formidable. They flew to arms with joy, and eagerness, whenever the standard of MAHOMET was displayed, and the question was to make war against the infidels; but since European tactics have made a progress which the ignorance of the Turks could not or would not follow, and since, above all, the bonds of the empire are broken or relaxed, the warlike ardour of the janizaries is much damped. This corps, formidable for such a length of time, is no longer any thing but a shapeless mass of workmen, shop-keepers, farmers, and boatmen, without either discipline or courage, and ever ready to desert or mutiny against their officers.

For some time past there has been formed a corps of infantry of upwards of thirty thousand men, under the name of *topchis* or gunners. Scattered over the capital and the rest of the empire, they receive a moderate pay, and are obliged to join their colours when they receive orders for that purpose.

Independently of the other corps of troops, as well on foot as on horseback, which are raised in time of war, or which the pachas keep in their service, are to be distinguished the *fâhîlars*, a corps of cavalry, less numerous and less scattered than that of the spahis, and the *délis* or *délibachs* *, volunteers on horseback in the service of the pachas. These *délis* are brave, determined,

* Deli, in Turkish, signifies *mad*, and *délibach*, *mad-headed*.

enterprising, and ever ready to execute the orders of their master in the expeditions which he commands, and in the extortions which he directs. They follow him to war, perform the office of light troops, and fight without order and without discipline: they stop and bring back to battle the runaways, and frequently precipitate themselves into the enemy's ranks, with a boldness which astonishes and which sometimes determines the victory in their favour.

When a pacha is disgraced, or when, from any motive, he dismisses his *délibaches*, as they are without pay and without resources, they then commit the most terrible robberies; they spread themselves over the fields, the villages, and even the towns; they rob indiscriminately, lay all under contribution, and stop and plunder the caravans, till they are called into the service of some other pacha, or till some imposing force has put them to flight and dispersed them.

In the most despotic empire, the will of the sovereign is limited, circumscribed or fettered by laws and customs which he cannot call in question without danger: such is the Ottoman Empire. As successor of the caliphs, the sultan unites in himself every power; he is sovereign absolute, legislator, pontiff, and supreme chief of religion: he may create, change, and modify, according to his wish or his caprice, the laws of the State: he establishes the imposts and taxes which he judges necessary: he disposes at his pleasure of the eminent places, administrative and military, religious and judicial of the empire: he is master of the life and of the fortune of all his officers and of all the agents that he keeps in pay; however, he would find insurmountable obstacles if he meddled with the fundamental laws deposited in the book of the prophet, and even with most of those which custom immemorial has rendered, as it were, as sacred as the others. In establishing imposts, he takes care not to overburden the people, ever ready to manifest

their indignation, to rise, to demand the head of the vizir, to depose the sultan, and proceed to all sorts of excesses. In the appointment of lawyers, he generally respects rank and seniority of service, because he would be afraid to irritate and stir up to rebellion the august and formidable body of the ulemas: in short, he neither can legally put to death a simple individual nor usurp his property, without a previous trial, without a sentence of the lawyers.

It has, nevertheless, happened more than once that the Grand Signior, the vizir, the captain-pacha, the pachas with three tails, have put to death citizens without trial: but these cases are rare, and are not without danger. The history of this people presents a crowd of examples of sultans and vizirs killed or deposed for acts of injustice and extortions, a little too revolting. The complaints of the people have frequently forced the sultan to sacrifice to his own safety a minister, a favourite, whose crimes sometimes have been no more than a blind submission to the will of their master.

The presence of the sovereign, a greater mass of knowledge, an immense population, the division of interest, favour, and power, occasion despotism, at CONSTANTINOPLE, not to be so calamitous, nor so terrible as in the provinces, because the sultan watches over his ministers, because the people league together and revolt with success against their oppressors, because they almost always find a support in the jealousy, ambition, or probity of some man in power. But a pacha in his province, at a distance from the looks of his sovereign, master of all the armed force, and invested with powers almost unlimited, seldom finds in the tribunal of justice, in the assembly of notables, and in the enterprises of the people, a dam sufficiently strong to confine him within the limits of his duties.

Too frequently the pacha, by his courage, his boldness, and his interest, contrives to silence the judge and the honest men, to paralyze the good intentions of the divan, and to make the people whom he oppresses tremble: too frequently too the obstacles which the laws wisely oppose to his ambition, and his wickedness, remain without effect through the connivance of the prevaricating judge, of the divan charged to watch over the interests of the people: then acts of violence and injustice no longer have bounds, especially if the pacha be powerfully supported by the PORTE, and if he have in his service a great number of *délibaches* ever ready to execute his orders, and defend him in case of attack. However, when acts of injustice excite an indignation too strongly marked, the pacha endeavours to appease it by disavowing the officer executor of his orders, by removing him, and even by putting him to death. It is the Christians who have always most to suffer, because they are not supported like the Mussulmans, and because they find a greater difficulty in transmitting to the foot of the throne their just complaints. The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews form between themselves corporations the chiefs of which make a few efforts to put a stop to the extortions of a governor, to cause him to be recalled or punished; but too frequently their remonstrances remain without effect, or tend only to render their situation still worse.

The impunity of the pachas has been such for some time past, that the greater part of them have taken the liberty to set up a powerful military establishment which requires considerable expenses, far above the legal produce of their pachaliks. Extortions have increased in proportion to the number of persons that they had to maintain; they have, by dint of money, obtained from the PORTE the junction of all the employments of the province; they are *mouhassils* or farmers-general; they have got themselves confirmed every year in their places, and some have ended by acquiring riches so considerable, and such an authority, that the sultan cannot find means to displace them or put
 them

them to death. But this violent state of things must necessarily have a period : the inhabitants of the country-places, overburdened with imposts, molested in their fortune, and threatened in their life, imperceptibly forsake the lands which can no longer support them ; they go into the great towns to seek that repose which they have lost in their cottages, and the means of living which they no longer find in the culture of their lands. However, the pacha exacts the same contributions, and compels those who remain, to pay for those who have fled : whence it follows, that all the inhabitants soon disappear, and that the village is for ever deserted. There is no part of the empire, at a little distance from the capital, that does not present the aspect of the most complete devastation, that does not exhibit large plains, without culture, hamlets, and villages destroyed, and without inhabitants.

It is not surprising that the governors of provinces neglect no means of squeezing the people, when they are obliged to purchase dearly that right, when they know that they cannot maintain themselves in their place, or occupy others without making new pecuniary sacrifices, when, in a word, the sovereign sells all the eminent places, and when, after his example, the ministers and the men who dispose of any employment, give it only to the highest bidder. Through a very old custom which mistrust has, no doubt, introduced, every important place is granted only for a year : a new firman is necessary for a person to be kept in it. The pachas above all, whose extensive power affords the means of screening themselves from the sovereign authority, must be regularly changed every year, and the sultan seldom deviates from this custom when he has it in his power ; but the pacha, on his side, knowing that gold, in TURKEY, can absolve a man from the greatest crimes, and cause the most revolting extortions and the most arbitrary condemnations to be forgotten, hastens to amass it ; and if to his criminal ambition he join courage, boldness, and talents, he obtains with the three tails, an eminent pachalik : he then endeavours to maintain himself in his post,

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by preventing, on the one hand, the complaints respecting his conduct from reaching the throne, and, on the other, by performing scrupulously the engagements which he has contracted towards the imperial treasury; but if he succeed, like the pachas of SCUTARI, PALESTINE, BAGDAD, and so many others, in extending his government, and rendering it sufficiently productive to have an army, he obliges the sovereign to spare him, to confirm him every year in his pachalik, and to preserve only the appearance of power. True it is that, in that case, the sultan employs his two great means, cunning and patience; he dispatches secretly, and under various pretexts, *capidgis* to the pacha of whom he wishes to be rid: if the latter be not sufficiently mistrustful for preventing any suspicious man from approaching too near him, he receives the mortal blow, and the *capidgi* instantly produces the firman of the Grand Signior, which all the by-standers, in their turn, kiss with respect, and place on their head in token of submission.

What delays the ruin of the greater part of the provinces, are the *ayams*, (an Arabic word which signifies *eye*,) whose employment is to watch over the safety and the fortune of individuals, over the good order and the defence of a town, to oppose the unjust enterprises of the pachas, the exactions of the military, and to concur in the just assessment of the taxes. Appointed by the people, they are generally men reputed the most virtuous, who undertake this honourable function: there are several of them in the great towns; a single one commonly unites several villages in the plains. The *ayams* receive no other reward for their zeal and their trouble, than the consideration, almost always merited, which they enjoy, and the satisfaction which an honest man feels when he is useful to his fellow-creatures.

The *ayams* call to their divan the notables of the town and the lawyers, in order to discuss subjects of a very great interest, to digest with them the remonstrances to be made to the pacha, and to establish in concert
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the motives of complaint which they judge necessary to be presented against him to the Pasha.

What likewise contributes in the towns to the safety of the individuals who are not attached to the military service, and who occupy no place emanating from the government, is that almost all the Mussulmans, from the merchant down to the lowest workman, belong to an organized corporation, the chiefs of which are charged to watch over the rights of the community and of individuals. If a brother, a fruiterer, for instance, be attacked by any man of weight, the affair is carried to the *mékemé* or tribunal of justice. The chiefs present themselves to defend the individual oppressed; they represent that from such a period this man has been settled in the neighbourhood, that he has always led an exemplary life, that he is a good Mussulman, a good father, a good husband, and they assist at the hearing of the witnesses; if they discover that the accused is really guilty, they retire, and give him up to the rigour of the laws: if they believe, on the contrary, that he is innocent, they defend him with courage, call in, if it be necessary, the whole corporation, and the oppressor is generally obliged to desist from his pursuits. But, in the country-places, the people have not the same means; they must, in that case, have recourse to the *ayams* or to the *kiaya* of the village, a sort of municipal officer elected by the people, with whom rest all the affairs of the hamlet, all the demands of money, &c.: it is generally the richest or the most intelligent of the village, who performs gratuitously this function. The greater part of the *kiayas* are reproached, perhaps with some reason, with having a secret understanding with the pachas, with facilitating their extortions, and enriching themselves almost always at the expense of those whom they ought to defend and protect.

The Jews and the Christians have also organized corporations, whose chiefs frequently bring to a hearing the complaints of the oppressed; but it sel-

dom happens that the most unjust accusation is not terminated by some sacrifices of money, unless the accused be protected by an European ambassador or consul, or by some opulent Turk. These unfortunate beings are through the whole empire, the cow which the Mussulmans are eager to milk whenever their necessities require it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the grand visir.—Of the divan of the Porte, and of the members of whom it is composed.—Of the kadjakians and of the vacoufs.

THE dignity which is on a footing with that of mufti or of sheik-islam, but the powers of which are much more extensive, is that of grand visir or of visir-azem. Being the lieutenant of the sultan, in whose name he governs and from whom he holds the seal, invested with the greatest authority, and intrusted with all the power of execution, the visir may strike off the heads of persons receiving salaries who oppose the progress of the government, who throw obstacles in the way of its administration, who do not obey its orders, or do not execute them according to its pleasure; he commands the armies in person; he disposes of the finances; he names or causes persons to be named to all the administrative and military employments. Nothing, in a word, is foreign to his powers, but the interpretation of the law intrusted to the ulemas.

But the greater the power of the grand visir, the greater is his responsibility. He is accountable both to the sovereign and to the people, for the acts of injustice which he commits, for the unfortunate result of his administration, for the extortions which he does not repress; he is accountable, above all, for the unexpected dearth of provisions, for too frequent fires, and for the defeats of the armies: all the misfortunes of the State are attributed to him. The sword, always suspended over his head, strikes him equally whether he displease the people, or disoblige the sultan.

Secretly attacked by those who are ambitious of his place, by those whom he has dissatisfied, or to whom he has done an ill office, surrounded by snares, and exposed to every shaft, it is extremely rare for a vizir to grow old in the dangerous post which he occupies, if he possess not the difficult art of making the great tremble, of making himself beloved by the people, and of rendering himself necessary to the sultan. How many might we instance, whom intrigue has displaced or caused to perish, whom the sultan has sacrificed to his own safety ! How many vizirs does not history afford us, whose presumptuous ignorance has occasioned the misfortunes of the State and accelerated their own ruin !

The other ministers, obliged to confer with the grand vizir and to take his orders, disburden themselves on him of all the responsibility attached to their administration, and the counsellors by whom he is surrounded cannot save him when his ruin is resolved on. At liberty to follow or to reject their advice, there remain for him neither pretexts nor excuses : it is to him alone that the sovereign power is intrusted, it is to him alone to give an account.

The law and custom, as I have said with regard to the sultan and the pachas, have put some shackles on the right which the vizir has to punish with death all the agents, all the persons in the pay of the government. Before he strikes off the head of a great personage of the empire, he must have an order signed by the hand of the sultan ; and when a military man is in question, he must obtain the approbation of the commanders.

In the frequent excursions which he makes incog. in the city for the purpose of having an eye to good order, of informing himself of the state of the articles of food, examining the weights and measures, and inspecting the conduct of the agents appointed for the distribution of provisions, the vizir, accompanied by a public executioner, and some officers disguised like himself,
orders

orders delinquents to be apprehended and punished on the spot : he calls out, if necessary, the guard of the quarter ; he directs the *bastinado* to be given to the shopkeepers who vend aliments of bad quality ; he causes him who is found with false weights to be nailed by the ear against the door of the shop ; he even punishes with death relapses or malversations of too serious a nature. During fires, he orders to be struck off the head of the thief caught in the very fact ; but, in those cases, the law has pronounced beforehand the penalty of death. Charged to listen to the complaints of individuals, to cause justice to be done to all, the *vizir* cannot, under any pretext, dispose legally of the life and fortune of citizens. It is not that he does not too frequently abuse his authority ; it is not that he does not sometimes yield to perfidious advice, that he does not suffer himself to be led away by motives of hatred or revenge, that the thirst of gold does not impel him to arbitrary acts ; but woe be to him if his injustice be too revolting ! When he too frequently puts himself above the laws, the people, in their turn, trample him under foot, unless the sultan be expeditious in administering justice.

At the head of the armies, far from the eye of the sovereign, the power of the grand *vizir* is disengaged from the forms which sometimes restrain him in the capital, and it must be confessed that he has the utmost need of there displaying a very great severity. The Mussulmans naturally turbulent and seditious, can be checked only by the sight of punishments. If the heads of the mutineers, of the plunderers, and of the assassins do not fall from time to time, shortly the army no longer exhibits any but scattered gangs of robbers who devastate, with the same avidity, the provinces of the empire and those belonging to the enemy.

The *kadilekars* or ordinary judges of the army follow it only when the sultan commands it in person : a *molla* appointed for that purpose always
discharges

discharges their functions when the visir has the command. It is the same when it is submitted to a pacha ; but, in all cases, death must immediately follow the knowledge of the crime, and the sentence of the judge is but a simple formality.

The grand visir gives audience to the public on several days of the week ; he hears the complaints of the citizens, admits or rejects their petitions, permits them to plead their cause before the kadilekars, the stambol-effendi, and the mollas of GALATA, AIJUB, and SCUTARI, and to cause justice to be administered to them with sufficient dispatch ; but it is not correct to say that he renders it himself. Unless it be an affair of police, or that the petitioners and the delinquents be agents of the government, the sentences are pronounced by the ordinary judges : the visir causes them to be executed as the pachas do in the provinces.

When the grand visir is obliged to absent himself in order to take the command of the army, the sultan appoints for the interim a caïmacan or substitute who discharges his functions, is invested with the same authority, enjoys the same rights, but not the same revenues ; his salary is fixed, and the emoluments of the place belong to the visir, to whom the caïmacan must give an account of them. It is generally a pacha with three tails who is appointed to this eminent place.

A very remarkable change has taken place in the government since SELIM III. created a new council to which are at this day submitted all projects, to which are referred all important affairs, and from which emanate all the resolutions and, as it were, all the acts of the government. The responsibility of the visir must have diminished with his power : the misfortunes of the State, the public calamities cannot henceforth be attributed to him ; and if the
first

first place of the Ottoman Empire continue to be changeable and tottering, it will at least be no longer accompanied by the same dangers.

The divan or the council of the grand visir was formerly composed of six ordinary visirs or pachas with three tails, whose reputation for wisdom and intelligence was not to be equivocal. The visir asked their opinion when he thought it necessary. To this council were likewise admitted the mufti and the two kadilekiers when the law was to be consulted.

A little time after his accession to the throne, SELIM composed this council of twelve persons the most distinguished by their office. The visir and the mufti are presidents of it, the one in his quality of lieutenant-general of the empire for temporal affairs; the other as vicar of the sultan for the interpretation and depository of the laws. The other ten members are the *kiaya-bey*, the *reis-effendi*, the *tefterdar-effendi*, the *tebélébi-effendi*, the *terfana-émini*, the *tebiaoux-bachi*, two *ex-reis-effendi*, and two *ex-tefterdars effendi*.

The *kiaya-bey* is, properly speaking, the lieutenant of the visir; he momentarily discharges his functions when the latter happens to die. All affairs pass through his hands before they arrive at the visir, and all orders emanating from the Porte receive their execution through the impulse of the *kiaya-bey*. He is appointed by the Grand Signior, on the presentation of the visir. He is generally involved in the disgrace of his principal, and if he do not lose his head as frequently as he, his fortune, in that case, always runs the greatest risk. Although he have no military rank, it may be said that he occupies the second administrative place in the empire, considering the importance and the multiplicity of his functions. If the sultan be dissatisfied with his services, he receives, on quitting his office, the dignity of simple visir or pacha with three tails. It seldom happens that he is given only the two tails when he is sent to govern a province.

The reis-effendi is, as 'it were, secretary of state, high chancellor of the empire, the principal of the *gens de plume* *, the minister for foreign affairs. He signs all the orders of the PORTE, which do not directly concern the finances and the military operations; he treats with all the European ministers who are at CONSTANTINOPLE; in a word, every thing that concerns the foreign powers, and every thing that relates to the interior administration, passes through the channel of the reis effendi; but he does nothing without communicating it to the grand visir and taking his orders.

The tefterdar-effendi must be considered as the minister of the finances; he receives the produce resulting from the sale of the great employments, that which arises from the annual renewal of the barats or firmans obtained by the zaïms, timariots, and others, the produce of the karatch or capitation-tax on the Jews and Christians; the produce of the farmed domains, that of the customs, &c. He has a great number of offices into which are poured the different revenues of the empire, and at which are made the different payments ordered by the PORTE. There are at the head of each office, a great officer, principals and clerks taken from among the kodjakians or *gens de plume* of whom I shall have occasion to speak further on.

This minister cannot be confounded with the khafné-veliki, a black eunuch, charged with the general administration of the interior imperial treasure, into which are poured the produce of the confiscations and inheritances that serve for the support of the seraglio. The presents, the effects, the jewels which are sent by foreign powers, those acquired by conquest, the colours, &c. constitute a part of this treasure.

* As we have not in ENGLAND those three distinctions, made in FRANCE, of *gens de plume*, *gens d'épée*, and *gens de robe*, we have deemed it more expedient to retain the French term than to employ one which might be ambiguous to the reader.—*Translator*.

The private treasure of the sultan is administered by the *khafnadar-aga*, one of the pages of confidence. This treasure, increased by the savings of the greater part of the sultans, is supported by the profits of the mint and by some confiscations.

The place of *tchélébi-effendi* did not exist formerly; it was created under the reign of SELIM III, at the same time as the tax on wine, eatables, and most articles of merchandize, as cotton, wool, &c. The produce of this tax, known by the name of *nizam-djedid*, has been appropriated to the new corps of gunners, bombardiers, matrosses, and fusileers that has been formed, to the buildings which have been constructed for them, to the foundry of cannon, to the manufactory of muskets, gun-carriages, &c. The *tchélébi-effendi* is the receiver-general of this tax, the administrator of these funds, the inspector-general of these establishments, the intendant of the buildings.

I have said, in another place, that the *terfana-émini* was the minister of the marine.

The *tchiaoux-bachi* is secretary of state; it is to him that a person must address himself to see the grand visir, to be admitted to his divan, to plead at his tribunal. He has about him two *tesheredjis* who receive the memorials, the claims, the petitions of the pleaders and of all those who present themselves, and who administer justice according to the order of the visir.

The captain-pacha and the *kiaya* of the *sultana-validai* are called to the extraordinary councils; and although they are not ordinary members of the council, they are consulted, and both have the greatest influence in the deliberations from the interest which the former preserves with SELIM, and from that which the latter has obtained with the *sultana-mother*. The latter was born

poor in CANDIA. He is said to be a man of understanding and very clever: he possesses, above all, the art of intrigue, and joins to his easy manners, an agreeable and prepossessing person.

SELIM, occupied with useful establishments, ameliorations, and changes necessitated by the critical circumstances in which he found himself on his accession to the throne, could not doubt of the success of his enterprises in causing to emanate from a council formed by the most powerful and the most enlightened men of the empire, all the innovations that he wished to introduce, all the beneficent laws that he wished to have passed. Could he suspect, that by rendering arbitrary acts less frequent, great executions more rare, by diminishing the too absolute and too tyrannical power of the visir, by submitting to discussion all the operations of the government, by promulgating no law till it had, as it were, received the sanction of his council, guilt would become more frequent, ambition more audacious, rebellion more difficult to be repressed, armies of robbers more numerous? Could he imagine, in a word, that the influence of foreign powers would be greater, and that it would succeed in stopping all the salutary measures that he wished to have adopted?

This council, unfortunately composed of members enemies among themselves, jealous of each other, more taken up with themselves than with the happiness of the State, is very far from having accomplished the intentions of SELIM. One would be inclined to believe, from seeing it sometimes in inaction in the midst of dangers, and sometimes in a route contrary to that which it ought to follow, that most of the members, far from seconding the designs of the sultan, labour, on the contrary, to make them miscarry. Since its creation, the state of affairs is daily becoming worse; the empire is menaced with a total dissolution; the finances are exhausted; and a rebel already threatens to place a stranger on the throne. He is waiting, perhaps,
only

only for the moment when the people shall be prepared for this extraordinary event, unexampled in the Turkish annals.

If, instead of establishing a council too wavering, too weak, and too easy to be corrupted, SELIM could have intrusted authority to a vizir endowed with a rare understanding, a profound mind, a pure heart, a firm courage, and an unshaken resolution, it is not to be doubted that all his projects would have completely succeeded: the Ottoman Empire would have resumed by degrees its rank among the powers of the earth; it would at least have emerged from that state of abjection and nullity in which it has been for several reigns: the troubles of the interior would not have taken place; the rebellious pachas would have returned to their duty, and the janizaries the most mutinous would have paid with their head the first movement of insurrection which they should have made.

It is very difficult to foresee how the Ottoman Empire will extricate itself from the fatal crisis into which it has been brought. Will FRANCE, so much inclined formerly to support it *, prevent the powers, which at this day appear to defend its interests with warmth, from making it soon undergo the fate of POLAND, or from taking from it at least a part of its dominions?

The kodjakians or *gens de plume* form in the capital a numerous body, intelligent and respected; this is the profession which holds the middle rank between the military men and the lawyers, and which is become sufficiently powerful since the ulemas are rather less so, since the divan is composed

* The political and commercial interests which so long united FRANCE and the Ottoman Empire, have greatly changed since our establishment in EGYPT, since above all that colony leads us to hope for a more advantageous trade than that which we carried on before, and enables us to stop the pretensions which ENGLAND makes to the exclusive commerce of the whole world.

only of *gens de plume*, and since some among them obtain fiefs, military rank, and governments.

Almost all the ministers, all the agents in the different administrations of the capital, the customs, and the mosques; all the principals of offices, all the secretaries, all the clerks, all the schoolmasters; in a word, all the writers, from the simple *kiatib*, who copies books, petitions, or memorials, and him who applies himself to writing purely and correctly the language, to the *reis-effendi* who is at the head of them, are all distinguished by the name of *kodja*, and make part of that sort of corporation.

The art of transcribing the national books and especially the Koran, forms the nursery of the *gens de plume*. The number of copyists of these books is prodigious in the capital. Young men who have no fortune, and who are desirous of embracing this profession, after having learned to read and write in the schools, apply themselves first to the copying and selling of books; they afterwards draw up petitions and memorials for those who have occasion for them. If they display intelligence, and acquire information in this trade, they succeed in procuring themselves a place in some office, and by degrees, with protectors, conduct, application, and, above all, money, they arrive at the first situations in the public offices, and at the first dignities in the ministry.

The Muffulmans are indebted to the kodjas for a vast number of works held in great estimation among them, relative to the Arabic and Persian languages, philosophy, morality, Mahometan history, and the geography of their provinces; and it is among them that are generally found the statesmen the most intelligent and the most capable of serving as ministers.

The fear of depriving of their profession this great number of copyists, the opposition of almost all the powerful *gens de plume*, the refusal of the lawyers to suffer the Koran and the other books of religion to be printed, and, perhaps too, the aversion which the Mussulmans manifest for the practices and the arts of Europeans, are so many motives which concur in preventing the art of printing from being established among them in a substantial manner.

The *gens de plume* are entitled *kodjas* or *effendis*. The latter designates a man of a more distinguished rank, him, for instance, who has arrived at the first places, the first dignities. This latter title is also given to the lawyers, to the imans of the mosque. *Effendi* is the word which distinguishes *gens de plume* and lawyers from military officers, to whom are given the appellation of *aga* and *bey*.

Favour often grants military fiefs to *gens de plume* little qualified, in general, for the fatigues of war: ministers and other great personages also obtain sometimes the dignities of pacha with two or three tails, without being fit to march at the head of the troops of their provinces. But as in TURKEY it is considered rather whether the place be fit for the man than the man for the place, no *effendi* makes it a point of delicacy to solicit these important posts. What does it signify to them to have no military knowledge, provided they have a more distinguished rank, a greater authority, and they have it in their power to acquire great riches? Neither are they stopped by the contempt which the soldiers manifest for them, and by the frequent sarcasms in which the latter indulge themselves respecting them, not unfrequently even in their presence.

The administration of the pious foundations called *vakfs* or *vacoufs*, employs a great number of *gens de plume*, and procures them a situation far more lucrative than honourable. Superstition, religious zeal, and above all the tyrannical

rannical law of confiscations have caused to be converted into vacoufs a great part of private property. Without speaking of those vast domains granted to religious worship, of those villages, small towns, and countries, whose produce is appropriated to the mosques, a great number of individuals give up to them during their life, or bequeath them after their death, a part or the whole of their fortune. But, guided more frequently by motives of interest than by a religious sentiment, they make a donation of their property, for a moderate sum which they receive from the mosque, and an annuity which they bind themselves to pay to it. The enjoyment remains with the donee till the extinction of the heirs at law, in an order designated by the act.

The intention of the founder, in this case, has no other object than to put under the safeguard of religion, hitherto respected by the sultans, a property which it is very easy for a person to preserve and to transmit to his children. But sooner or later, for the want of heirs, the vacouf property devolves to the mosques. If the law do not put a stop to these donations, or if the government do not one day appropriate them to itself, almost all the immoveable property of the empire will end by being appropriated to religious worship, or devoted to pious establishments.

No foundation takes place without their being a *mutevelli* or administrator, and a *nazir* or inspector, the one for the employment of the money according to the intention of the founder, and the other for the superintendence and verification of the accounts. But, in a country where it is so rare to meet a man who resists the wish of appropriating to himself a sum of money which passes through his hands, and for which he is to account only to his conscience and to an inspector as knavish as himself, no one doubts that the *mutevelli* and the *nazir* have a secret understanding, divide between them what they can purloin, and appropriate to themselves annually sums more or less considerable, according to the importance of the foundations which they are charged to administer and superintend.

Little satisfied with the right which is adjudged them by the founder, they think to be able to excuse their criminal conduct by the inutility of the revenues which exceed the employment that is to be made of them, or perhaps they consider as indifferent to the spirit of the foundation to retain for themselves this excess, instead of distributing it to the poor, of making savings, or of improving the capital.

Most of the founders, with the twofold intention of transmitting to their heirs a certain revenue secure from the rapacious hand of the imperial treasury, and of not enriching unknown administrators and inspectors, nominate and appoint these agents in their own family. They take care, if they are attached to the government, to dispose in reality of two thirds of the income of the property that they establish *vacouf*, without which the government, which would discover the formal intention of depriving it of an immoveable property that it ought to inherit, would appropriate the whole of it to itself, to the prejudice even of the mosque named in the act of donation.

CHAPTER XIX:

Export-trade.—Alimentary substances.—Wood for fuel, joiner's work, carpenter's work, and ship-building.

THE little confidence inspired by a government too frequently unjust; the little solidity presented by the fortunes of private persons, the certainty of losing one's money if the man to whom it has been lent die in an employment, or if he be punished with death for any misdemeanour, real or supposed; the tyranny which is every where exercised by those who are invested with power, the venality of the tribunals, the innumerable multitude of false witnesses—every thing in TURKEY inspires such a mistrust in affairs of commerce, that a man lends not his money but at a very high interest, and delivers not his goods on credit but at an exorbitant price. Very frequently even no business takes place if the creditor be not provided beforehand with a pledge above the value of the money which he has lent, or of the goods which he has delivered on credit. The interest of money must have risen in proportion to the risks that the lender had to run: it is generally from eight to ten per cent. in regard to Europeans; from fifteen to twenty per cent. in regard to Mussulman, Jew, Armenian, or Greek merchants; it is at thirty, forty, and even fifty per cent. in regard to the Turks who belong to the government. To private persons money is lent at twenty-five or thirty per cent. but almost always in towns, pledges are required for the security of the debt.

Honesty, however, is not entirely banished from the Ottoman Empire. The European merchants know that the countryman almost always performs without difficulty the engagements which he has contracted, that the
man

man of business is generally the slave of his word, that the trader seldom fails to discharge his obligations when his payments become due. If probity alone be the instigator of the first, the others are anxious to preserve a spotless reputation which may increase their credit, multiply their operations, and facilitate all the affairs that they undertake.

It is with the pachas and the great that one ought to avoid to deal otherwise than with ready money, because it is they who shew the most dishonesty, and who almost always make an improper use of their authority. As much as one may be confident with the plain man who hears and follows the voice of his conscience, with the merchant always moved by self-interest which commands him to appear an honest man, so much ought one to mistrust the man of power whom intrigue has led to the first employments, who, deaf to the call of honour, thinks that he can screen himself from the eye of justice.

I shall not here establish a parallel between the different nations which inhabit the LEVANT, and which are subject to the Ottoman government. The individuals who compose them, accused of being equally covetous, equally cunning, equally knavish, nevertheless, perform their engagements when one has taken with them suitable precautions: If probity do not incline them to it, fear at least determines them, because the Turks are always there to impose on them an exaction.

As for the Mussulmans, one finds, in general, among them more sincerity: one may, in general, trust more to their word. We should consider them as the most honest and the most estimable of all, did they not shew themselves unjust towards tributary subjects: did not the contempt which they have for them induce them to violate in regard to them the law of nations, to make them undergo humiliations, and cover them not unfrequently with disgrace.

It is to the government alone, founded on an oppressive religion, that we must impute the knavery of some, the tyranny of others, the vices of all. The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, deprived of the rights of citizenship, excluded from civil employments and from military service, strangers to the religion on which every thing rests, obliged to redeem every year their head by a disgraceful tax *, threatened incessantly with the loss of their life or their fortune, and weak and unprotected, have, from their very infancy, learnt to dissemble, to give way to the smallest shock, to withdraw themselves from force by address, from violence by submission. They have been obliged to be false from habit, cringing and vile from fear, cunning and knavish from the necessity of living and existing.

The Mussulmans, vain of their superiority, insolent towards unarmed slaves, proud of belonging to a religion which inspires contempt for all those who are not admitted into it; fanatic, ferocious, and unjust through the effect of that religion; tolerated in the extortions which they exercise towards tributary subjects; emboldened even by a government which dreads those whom it oppresses; the Mussulmans, like their ancestors, would possess a disposition for greatness, heroism, and robbery, had they preserved their morals, their courage, and all their fanaticism. But at this day the sale of all employments and the precarious tenure of them makes all private persons avaricious, and converts all the depositaries of authority into oppressors. Justice is venal, because the cadis have been laid under contribution; the venality of the judges has produced false witnesses; religious zeal is relaxed, courage is worn out, immorality has crept in every where: one may say boldly that it has at the present day reached its highest pitch in the towns.

The law of confiscations has frequently occasioned to be considered as criminal men whom birth, chance, or industry had enriched. That which assigns

* The karatch.

to the Sultan the property of those who receive from him any pay whatever *, must, like the other, necessarily have clogged the operations of commerce, inspired fears, and most contributed to the excessive rate of money.

If we except some parts of the two INDIES, in no country on earth is gold so common as in TURKEY; it circulates every where, it is the base of all payments, and every traveller has more or less in his girdle. There is not a woman who has not chains, necklaces, and other ornaments in sequins; not a child that has not on its head some pieces of money: but this gold, the ornament and dress of the women, is for ever taken away from trade. The husband, pursued by his creditors, would not dare to touch it, and the wife sometimes sees the father of her children brought to punishment, without being tempted to make the sacrifice of that gold which she has snatched from his weakness, or obtained from his affection.

TURKEY, however, is tributary to INDIA, as we are to TURKEY. The gold which the Europeans carry as a last resort to that empire in payment of its merchandise, flows, in a great measure, through the RED SEA, through the PERSIAN GULF, and through PERSIA, and is swallowed up on the fertile and industrious coast of the INDIAN OCEAN. This is what I shall explain elsewhere more minutely.

The French merchants have very frequently lamented to see in all operations of commerce, the Jews and Armenians interposed between them and the Mussulmans; but they do not pay attention that, being versed in the customs and languages of the country, these Jews and these Armenians undertook a detail for which the European merchants were not qualified. Would they go

* All those who receive pay from the sultan or from the State, from the simple janizary up to the vizir-azem, are called *kouls* or servants; and, as such, the sultan can dispose of their life, and, if he please, seize on all their property.

like them, and scatter their money beforehand in the country-places in order to purchase at a low price commodities when they are gathered? Would they, like them, be willing to draw an usurious interest from their money? Could they keep sight of it, and would they take the steps and make the customary pecuniary sacrifices towards the cadis and the pachas when the question is to recover their demands from dishonest debtors? Undoubtedly not.— Well, let us leave to these Jews and these Armenians all the details of a traffic which can be advantageous to none but themselves, and let us confine ourselves to bartering with them our productions which they know better than we how to place suitably, which they sell retail in the town, or which they deliver to the inhabitants of the country on account of their commodities.

If we cast our eye on MARSEILLES and on all the ports of the southern departments; if we examine the prodigious number of manufactories which this trade supported in all parts of FRANCE, how many hands it occupied every where, and how many vessels and seamen it employed, we should be convinced that this trade was an inexhaustible source of riches to the mother-country and to its colonies, and that it was established in the manner the most suitable to the interests of all.

Scarcely emerged from the convulsive state in which we had been for upwards of ten years, we must hope that the LEVANT trade, no less advantageous to the Orientals than to ourselves, will soon be revived on both sides with its former activity. The war which the PORTE has been forced to declare against us, cannot be of long continuance: we shall avail ourselves of our advantageous position in spite of the efforts of a jealous and powerful enemy. We shall, in spite of him, turn to account our territorial productions and our industry. The number of our seamen will rise in proportion to our commerce: our navy is at this day without strength, because it is, in general, without instruction; without energy, because it is without confidence; with-

out success, because it is commanded by men who are no longer in their place; our navy, I say, will insure us this important trade when it shall rival in glory our armies, when the bravery of our sailors shall be directed by the talents, the information, and the prudence of their commanders.

Did not the mischievous genius of the Turks lead them to stifle conceptions and paralyze industry, did not their anti-social religion impose silence on reason and philosophy, no city in the world would be better calculated to serve as an emporium to an extensive commerce, than CONSTANTINOPLE. Situated on the confines of EUROPE and ASIA, between the MEDITERRANEAN and the EUXINE, surrounded by fertile provinces, the capital of a vast empire, CONSTANTINOPLE would see pass within its walls the productions of the EAST and of the WEST, as well as those of the NORTH and of the SOUTH. The caravans of ASIA and the ships of EUROPE would succeed each other without interruption, for the purpose of effecting exchanges advantageous to all nations *.

But, in the present state of affairs, this commerce is very limited. The industry of the inhabitants is confined to the simple wants of the city, and its territory is so little cultivated that it affords no article of exportation. Nevertheless, the neighbouring countries are so fertile and so productive, that they supply not only the numerous inhabitants of the capital, but permit the French merchants to export a sufficiency to pay for one half of the value of the merchandize which they receive from MARSEILLES. A part of these commodities passes through the town, the other is immediately shipped at RODOSTO, at MUNDANIA, at the DARDANELLES, and at the harbour of ENOS.

* If the BOSPHORUS and the HELLESPONT belonged to an industrious, civilized power, if they made a part of a vast empire, CONSTANTINOPLE would necessarily become the metropolis of the world.

In speaking here only of the export-trade, my object is to make known the most useful natural productions of every country that I shall visit, and the commodities of which European commerce may have availed itself. At the end of this work I shall present a general picture of the import-trade which FRANCE carries on with all the LEVANT. I shall publish, at another time, those articles of natural history which have not been treated of, or are little known.

Wool.

Wool forms the principal article of exportation from CONSTANTINOPLE, and the second from all the LEVANT. It is estimated that the price of the wools which the French merchants send to MARSEILLES from CONSTANTINOPLE, RODOSTO, the DARDANELLES, and ENOS, amounts, one year with another, to 1,500,000 livres (*circa* 62,499l. sterling). This value has sometimes risen to upwards of 2,000,000 (83,333l. sterling). They come from the environs of the BOSPHORUS, from the PROPONTIS, and from the HELLESPONT, as well as from ROMANIA, BULGARIA, BESSARABIA, and the southern coasts of the BLACK SEA. The slaughter-houses of the capital alone furnish a somewhat considerable quantity.

In TURKEY are bred two sorts of sheep, that with a broad tail, and that with a common tail. The former is the larger, its fleece is less fine, and its tail receives such a quantity of fat, that it sometimes weighs upwards of ten pounds. The wool of the plain-tailed sheep of BULGARIA, and of BESSARABIA, which comes to CONSTANTINOPLE by way of VARNA, or which passes through ADRIANOPLE, in order to be shipped at the harbour of ENOS, is the most esteemed. The wools of BOSNIA are reckoned to be of a quality superior to all those of the LEVANT: they are conveyed on the back of mules or horses, to SPALATRO, ZERA, and RAGUSA, whence they go by sea to VENICE. The wools of WALLACHIA and of the North of SERVIA are generally spread through all GERMANY.

All

All the wools of TURKEY are, in general, of an indifferent or of a bad quality, and little fit for the manufacture of fine plain cloths. Nevertheless, when they are picked and mixed with the fine wools of SPAIN and ROUSSILLON, the traders of LANGUEDOC find means to make with them first and second *londrins* which they send to MARSEILLES, and thence to all the sea-port towns of the LEVANT, where a considerable consumption of them is made.

Camel's Hair.

In the cold countries of ASIA MINOR and of PERSIA, camels have, during the winter, a tolerable abundance of a fine, silky wool, which falls every year at the beginning of the summer. It is known by the French in trade, under the improper name of *laine de chevron*. The most esteemed is brought from PERSIA by the caravans of ERIVAN, TIFLIS, ERZERUM, and TOCAT. There is some of three qualities: the black, the red, and the gray. The black is the dearest, and the gray is worth only half the price of the red.

Some comes annually to MARSEILLES by way of ALEPPO, SMYRNA, and CONSTANTINOPLE. This last city expedites from eighty to a hundred bales weighing about three hundred pounds the bale. SMYRNA and ALEPPO send a quantity much more considerable.

This wool is employed in the manufacture of hats: it is purchased by all the European nations that trade to the LEVANT. The French, however, are those who draw the most of it, and make of it the greatest consumption. The English employ but a small quantity of the black, which they procure at SMYRNA.

This camel's hair must not be confounded with another wool longer, more silky, and finer which is found in PERSIA, and which is produced in
plenty

plenty by a she-goat on the mountains of KERMÁN. I shall have occasion to speak of it elsewhere.

Goat's Hair.

On the hills and mountains of the environs of ANGORA, is bred a goat smaller than ours, with pendulous ears and short legs, whose white fleece, long and very fine, is carefully spun by the inhabitants of the country, and partly employed by them in the manufacturing of the stuff known under the name of *serges*, *camlets*, and *chalis* of ANGORA. The French have several factories in this town, for the purchase of the thread; and although this trade has for some time past been carried on through SMYRNA rather than through CONSTANTINOPLE, nevertheless, several bales of it pass through this latter city, which the French merchants dispatch to MARSEILLES.

Besides the goat's hair of ANGORA, there is also known in trade that of BEIBAZAR, which lies fifteen or twenty leagues to the westward on the road of BURSA. The former is more esteemed than the latter; it is finer, more supple, and more easy to be wrought; but that of BEIBAZAR is whiter, because the inhabitants of this town are in the habit of soaping and washing the hair before they spin it.

The ANGORA goats have much affinity, as to the fineness of their hair, to those of KERMÁN and those of CACHEMIRE. Both of them inhabit elevated places, cold in winter and very warm in summer; both are taken great care of, combed, and frequently washed by the shepherds who guard them.

Cotton.

Cotton is not cultivated at CONSTANTINOPLE nor on the shores of the BLACK SEA: the climate is too cold. It is only in the south and west part
of

of the PROPONTIS, in the environs of the HELLESPOINT, that the culture of this valuable vegetable begins. Cotton is the most plentiful merchandise of the LEVANT, and that which the French draw in the greatest quantity. The merchants of CONSTANTINOPIE dispatch annually from GALLIPOLI, from the DARDANELLES, and from ENOS, about six hundred and fifty bales, estimated at 125,000 livres (*circa* 5,208l. sterling).

Neither are the white spun cotton and the red dyed spun cotton of ADRIANOPIE a very important article of the export-trade of CONSTANTINOPIE: their value scarcely exceeds 40,000 livres, while from SMYRNA alone, MARSEILLES draws upwards of 2,000,000 of livres of spun cotton half white, half dyed red, and to the amount of 5,400,000 of livres of cotton wool: the greater part of the other sea-port towns of the LEVANT furnish more or less of this last article.

Formerly the red spun cotton of ADRIANOPIE enjoyed a very great reputation; but, for some time past, a preference is given to that of LARISSA in GREECE, and to those of the environs of SMYRNA and of some towns of the interior of ASIA MINOR. Means have also been found within a short time, in our French manufactories, to give spun cotton a red colour full as beautiful and as durable as that which is given to it in TURKEY. The red spun cottons of GREECE do not come into FRANCE; they pass by the ADRIATIC, to VENICE and TRIESTE, whence they spread all over GERMANY.

Buffaloes' hides.

The buffalo is in very great plenty throughout the EAST: it serves for tillage: it is harnessed to the waggons; it is made to turn the stones of mills, and wheels for the raising of water from wells. It is stronger than the ox, and more generally employed. Although it delights more particularly in

aquatic or marshy places, on the banks of large and small rivers, it nevertheless thrives every where, and acquires a size above that of oxen.

Its flesh is scarcely fit to be eaten: it is tougher, less savoury than that of the ox, and is almost always accompanied by an odour of musk which renders it by no means agreeable. It seldom happens that the Orientals subsist on it; they universally prefer the sheep, whose flesh is much more delicate than in our countries. The milk of the female is abundant and well-tasted; but the butter preserves a smell somewhat disagreeable, to which, however, one is soon reconciled.

The hide of the buffalo is much thicker and far more substantial than that of the ox; it weighs from eighty to a hundred pounds, and even more. A great quantity of them comes to CONSTANTINOPLE from ROMANIA, BULGARIA, BESSARABIA, WALLACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, and very few from the interior of ASIA MINOR. The hides of the males are more esteemed than those of the females; they are thicker, stronger, and much heavier. There pass annually to MARSEILLES five or six thousand of them, the price of which, one with another, is 15 livres or 2 shillings and 6 pence sterling. ANCONA, LEGHORN, and MESSINA also consume a rather large quantity. The Orientals content themselves with salting those which are intended for MARSEILLES and ANCONA; while those which are carried to LEGHORN and MESSINA have been dressed and tanned with the cup of the Velani oak.

Those hides, dressed and tanned at GRASSE in the department of the VAR, with different substances, and among others with myrtle, are very thick and very strong, have a greenish colour, and are employed by the country-people for soles which last twice or thrice as long as those of the best ox-hides.

There are also dispatched to MARSEILLES two or three thousand ox and cow hides not much esteemed. The value of the ox-hide does not exceed 1 livre 50 centimes, and that of the cow 1 livre. They come from the shores of the BLACK SEA.

Buffaloes' tongues.

The smoked buffalo's tongue, which is prepared in ROMANIA, is held in tolerable estimation : a great consumption is made of this article at CONSTANTINOPLE. Seven or eight hundred are exported every year to MARSEILLES. The Italians also purchase a great quantity. The preparation of them consists in their being salted and exposed for some time to the slow and continual action of smoke.

Hare's skin.

The hare is so common throughout ASIA MINOR, ROMANIA, and BULGARIA, that it is pursued for its skin, and there are dispatched from ADRIANOPLE, BURSA, and CONSTANTINOPLE, for MARSEILLES alone, from three to four hundred bales, estimated at from 4 to 5000 livres.

The duty in the LEVANT, levied on goods exported, is discharged by the sellers ; but as a bale of hares' skins is sometimes furnished by several persons, and as the custom-house officer would experience difficulties in the collection of the duties, in order to put a stop to the complaints of the PORTE and to the vexations to which the merchants were exposed in this respect, it was resolved, under the embassy of M. DE ST. PRIEST, that it should, in future, be the purchasers who should pay the duties on this merchandise, at the rate of a parat or a fous per oke (the oke weighs forty ounces and a half).

Turkey leather or Morocco.

The manufactories of morocco of GALLIPOLI, of the DARDANELLES, and of some towns of ASIA MINOR are the most renowned of the LEVANT. They

dress the skins of the she and he goats killed in the capital, and those which are dispatched from ROMANIA and the interior of ASIA. Almost all the towns of TURKEY also manufacture some, because the consumption of them is every where considerable. The Turks, as is well known, wear no other shoe-leather than morocco : the black and the violet serve for the Jews and the Armenians. The Greeks employ more generally the red : this is also the colour of the janizaries and of the common people. The rich Mussulmans, both men and women, all wear yellow shoes. Yellow is strictly prohibited to tributary subjects, such as the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews. Amongst them there are none but those who are attached to the legations and to the consulates of foreign powers, or who are specially protected by a barat, that can adorn themselves with this privileged colour.

It is said that the Turks learnt from the Algerines, to dye morocco red, which is known to be very beautiful among them, and for which they employ madder root, kermes, and a very little cochineal.

Their yellow morocco is not inferior in beauty to the red. In quality it is generally superior, because in the manufactories the skins which appear the best are selected, in order to be dyed the colour reserved for the Mussulmans.

The common moroccos are sold for 2 livres 50 centimes a piece. The French merchants dispatch annually from CONSTANTINOPE, twelve or fifteen hundred. The other European nations also purchase a small quantity.

According to the instructions which were given to us before our departure, we made some efforts to learn the proceedings which are employed in the dressing and in the dyeing of morocco : we offered money in order to be permitted to follow the process made use of in the manufactories ; but we
found

found every where a resistance of which we did not imagine the Turks capable. Although we entered several times into their manufactories, it was impossible for us to discover whether it is to the quality of the skins which they employ, or to their proceedings, that we must attribute the beauty of the morccos of the LEVANT. Among the substances which we perceived, are lime, sumac, the galnut, the cup of the Velani oak, dog's dung, madder root, cochineal, kermes, the rind of the pomegranate, and the seed of a rhamnus different from that which yields the seed of AVIGNON.

Silk.

Before the troubles of PERSIA, the caravans brought to CONSTANTINOPLE and to SMYRNA a great deal of silk from GUILAN, CHIRVAN, and ADERBEJAN, which the French and the English were eager to purchase; but, for some time past, these silks go into RUSSIA by the CASPIAN SEA, and a part passes thence into ENGLAND by the BALTIC, as I shall have occasion to mention when I shall speak of the commerce of PERSIA with RUSSIA.

None but the silks of BURSA, ADRIANOPLE, and BULGARIA are at this day known at CONSTANTINOPLE. Those of BURSA are the most abundant and the most esteemed; they are almost all white; and their thread is fine and tolerably supple. This silk supplies the numerous manufactories of the town, those of the capital, and those of SCIO; some even goes to ALEPPO and to DAMASCUS; and, nevertheless, there is every year exported to the amount of 2 or 300,000 livres. The French have a house established there: the English send thither factors when they wish to make purchases, and the merchants of TUNIS and ALGIERS also come thither to provide themselves every year.

The environs of NICOMEDIA, NICEA, and all the country situated between OLYMPUS and the PROPONTIS, are covered with white mulberry-trees cultivated

vated with care, and with a sufficient degree of intelligence. The inhabitants prefer keeping them dwarfs, in order to strip them more easily of their leaves.

The silk of ADRIANOPLE and BULGARIA is almost all white, and in point of quality, approaches that of BURSA. It has been tolerably abundant there for some years past, and especially since a considerable number of the inhabitants of BURSA have come thither to plant a great many mulberry-trees, and apply themselves to the rearing of silk-worms.

This tree does not grow on the other side of the DANUBE; but it thrives very well in the CRIMEA; which leads us to presume that shortly that fertile country, under an enlightened government, will produce silk as easily as wine, and that we shall at the same time see there almost all the productions of EUROPE.

Wax.

So great a quantity of wax comes from all the coasts of the BLACK SEA, of the PROPONTIS, and of the HELLESPONT, as well as from ROMANIA, BULGARIA, WALLACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, that the French merchants established at CONSTANTINOPLE dispatch of it every year to the value of 300,000 livres (*circa* 12,800*l.* sterling). A great deal is sent to GENOA, LEGHORN, and VENICE. The English and the Dutch also purchase some, and there is, besides, a great consumption made of it in the Greek and Armenian churches, and in the houses of all the individuals of the country, especially during the month of the ramazan.

The wax of the interior of ASIA MINOR is conveyed by the caravans, to ALEPPO and to SMYRNA.

Box.

Box is abundant in some places of the south coast of the BLACK SEA: there comes some from BARTHIN, a small town situated at the mouth of the *PARTHENIUS*; but the finest is to be found on Mount CAUCASUS, and comes to CONSTANTINOPLE by the ships which bring Georgian, Circassian, and Mingrelian female slaves. There is sent to MARSEILLES every year to the value of 12,000 livres (500l. sterling).

Copper.

Such a quantity of copper is drawn from the mines which are situated to the south of TREBISOND, in the environs of TOCAT, and in several places of ASIA MINOR, that TURKEY is able to pay with this metal for a part of the merchandise which she draws from INDIA. There comes annually to MARSEILLES, from CONSTANTINOPLE, from SMYRNA, and from the ports of SYRIA, to the value of from 12 to 1300,000 livres. A great deal also passes into ITALY, and the Turks make a very great consumption of it for their artillery which is all of brass, for their table and kitchen utensils, for their mangals, their chandeliers, and others.

There likewise comes to MARSEILLES to the value of 5 or 6,000 livres of copper coffee-pots, made at TREBISOND, or in the environs of that town.

Orpiment.

From the interior of ASIA MINOR is also drawn a very considerable quantity of orpiment. This mineral substance, mixed with a bolary earth, is employed throughout TURKEY, at the baths, as a depilatory for men and women of all conditions.

Independently of the great consumption which is made of it in the country, there is annually exported to MARSEILLES to the amount of about 2,000 livres. The Italians take of it to a more considerable value.

Hart's horn.

The stag is rather common in the forests of the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE. There is annually sent to MARSEILLES, to the value of 200 livres of its horns.

Peltry.

The finest furs come from RUSSIA and POLAND: some are likewise drawn from GEORGIA, from CIRCASSIA, from the CRIMEA, from WALLACHIA, and from all the north side of the BLACK SEA. Those of the black fox and the sable martin are the most esteemed: the former are at a price which cannot be afforded by private persons; the latter cost sometimes as much as 2 or 3,000 livres each. FRANCE fortunately dispenses with an article of merchandise which would considerably injure its manufactories. The few skins of this sort which she consumes come to her from the north of EUROPE and from AMERICA. There is sent from the LEVANT little more than to the value of 4 or 500 livres of zerdova or common martin's tails.

Horse hair.

Horse hair is an article which amounts annually to 4,000 livres (166l. 13s. 4d. sterling). It almost all comes from BULGARIA and BESSARABIA.

Galls.

Although the oak which produces galls begins to be found in the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE, this article more particularly concerns the commerce of SMYRNA, ALEPPO, and CYPRUS. I shall speak of it elsewhere.

Corn.

The Ottoman government, which knows, more than any other, how dangerous it is to suffer the people to be in want of subsistence, has at all times taken care to supply the capital with provisions, and even to make sacrifices, when necessary, in order to keep bread at a low price: before the reign of SELIM, the oke cost no more than three parats. But since the government has imprudently made a monopoly of corn, the oke is sold for five or six parats; which creates murmurs among the people, who do not think themselves well governed except when commodities of the first necessity are at a very moderate price.

The corn countries are obliged to furnish the capital with a certain quantity at their expense, the price of which is fixed and paid by the PORTE, according to the harvests and other circumstances.

The government also sends commissaries to VOLO, to SALONICA, and into some districts of GREECE, for the purchase of corn. The firman which fixes the price of it, and which regulates the quantity that is to be delivered, is read publicly at the mékemé, and the proprietors are bound to conform themselves to it, each in proportion to his property. The commissaries defray all the expenses of warehouse-room, carriage, &c. as far as CONSTANTINOPLE, in consideration of a determined profit: for instance, if they have orders to purchase at 50 parats the kilo, they are allowed 70, and so in proportion. They always receive in advance the money necessary for the purchase which they are ordered to make.

The government likewise fixes the price at which bakers and private persons are to buy the corn which it causes to be distributed to them; and it reserves to itself a profit of fifty or sixty per cent. It is asserted that the

produce of this monopoly amounts annually to ten thousand purses or 10,000,000 of our livres.

At CONSTANTINOPLE are made three sorts of bread : the one, called *pidé* *fodala*, or Turkish bread, is flat, ill baked, and tolerably white ; the other *somoun* or Armenian bread, is raised, rounded, worse baked, more black, and of an inferior quality to the other. The third is called *frangeole* ; it is small, oblong, and kneaded nearly like that which we eat in FRANCE. The bakers of the country add to the former, barley flour ; the second is a mixture of wheat, barley, rye, and millet ; the third is seldom made with pure wheat ; the European bakers who furnish it, eager to enrich themselves, well know that those who are accustomed to eat good bread, will prefer theirs, because it is whiter, better baked, and above all better kneaded. It is sold for ten, twelve, and even fourteen parats the oke. As it is supposed to be made for none but the Europeans, the police does not tax it, but suffers it to be sold at the price which the baker chooses ; the latter only taking care to furnish it of the best quality to the ambassadors whom they serve, and of whom they hold their privilege.

In the seraglio is made a fourth sort of bread, with which we are not acquainted. It is said to be very white, tolerably good, though worse kneaded and less baked than the frangeoles. Private persons are also in the habit of making bread, the quality of which approaches more or less to that of the bakers.

The corn of ROMANIA, of BULGARIA, and all that which is drawn in abundance from the environs of the DANUBE, is reckoned to be of a quality superior to all that of the Ottoman Empire : that too which comes from the CRIMEA and from TAGANROFF, situated towards the mouth of the DON, is much esteemed. That of VOLO, of SALONICA, and of the MOREA is reckoned to be

be of the second quality : next comes that of SYRIA and CYPRUS. The corn of EGYPT is considered as inferior to all the others.

Although the exportation of wheat is prohibited, means are found sometimes in the DARDANELLES, to ship one or more cargoes of it coming from the western and northern coasts of the BLACK SEA : vessels also load with it at RODOSTA, in TROAS, at VOLO, and in the Gulf of ENOS. It may be procured in EGYPT, in SYRIA, on the coast of NATOLIA, and in some other parts of the MOREA ; but pecuniary sacrifices must always be made, and suitable precautions taken not to irritate the people, or give too much dissatisfaction to the PORTE.

FRANCE ought not to forget that, during the revolution, when she was threatened, from all quarters, with the most terrible famine, the Ottoman government permitted several cargoes of corn to be shipped, and tolerated a greater number, though wheat was not more plentiful in TURKEY in that year than in others. This permission, contrary to Ottoman customs and policy, proceeded, at that period, from the good intentions of the government in regard to us, and from the extremely wise conduct of the agent of the Republic resident at the PORTE.

Alimentary substances.

CONSTANTINOPLE draws from PHILIPPOLIS a tolerably large quantity of rice less esteemed than that of EGYPT : it is also cultivated in some parts of ASIA MINOR, and several cargoes of it arrive every year from DAMIETTA : the latter is the finest and the best of all. Cherries, plums, pears, and apples arrive every day from the southern coast of the BLACK SEA, as well as chestnuts, hazel-nuts, and walnuts. Apricots, peaches, grapes, figs, musk-melons, cucumbers, water-melons, young pumpkins, melongenas, esculent hibiscus, and various species of herbs come from the neighbouring villages, from the

coasts of the PROPONTIS, and from the west and south parts of the BLACK SEA. The Island of SCIO furnishes oranges, lemons, bergamot-citrons, pomegranates, and some prunes; it also furnishes conserves of flowers of roses and oranges, the use of which is so general and so frequent in TURKEY. The best raisins come from NATOLIA, those of the ARCHIPELAGO are, in general, too much dried up and of little value. The raisins are brought from the environs of SMYRNA.

The fruit of the *diopiros lotus* or European date-plum, cultivated in the environs of CONSTANTINOPLE, CERASONTE, and SINOPE, is eaten fresh: there is also made of it a marmalade which the Orientals esteem: it appeared to me not very agreeable. MITYLENE furnishes the salted olives which, with caviare and salt fish, the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews make the principal article of their food. The chich-pea and maize which are cultivated every where, are ground into flour or simply roasted: the women and children have almost always some in their pockets.

From all the coasts of the BLACK SEA are, brought honey, butter and tallow. The first also comes from GREECE, and from a few islands of the ARCHIPELAGO: the consumption of the second is so great, that the government takes care that some should arrive from all quarters: European TURKEY and ASIA MINOR furnish it in abundance. MITYLENE and CANDIA send their oils: TENEDOS also exports its wine to the Europeans, Greeks, and Armenians: the Jews make theirs at SCUTARI, at the DARDANELLES, and in the environs.

The almonds which are drawn from some countries of NATOLIA and from some islands of the ARCHIPELAGO, are not sufficient for the great consumption of the capital; FRANCE makes them an article of trade rather important. But SYRIA and NATOLIA send a vast quantity of the kernels of the stone-pine tree which the Orientals put into most of their ragouts, and of

which they make, with sugar, delicacies in very great request. From DAMASCUS are drawn dried apricots, very sweet, which are also put into ragouts, or eaten boiled in the manner of stewed fruit. The dates of EGYPT and the pistachio-nuts of ALEPPO are too dear to be within the purchase of the common people; the latter especially are reserved for children and for the wives of the rich.

I shall not here speak of some fruits of little value, such as the medlar, the cornil, and that of the *elaagnus* or Bohemian olive-tree, which come from the environs of the capital, or from the interior of ASIA MINOR.

The best cheese of the LEVANT is that of CANDIA: a great deal comes from BULGARIA, WALLACHIA, and the environs of the PROPONTIS; but it is, in general, bad and very little esteemed, because it is made without skill, and because the custom obtains of drawing the butter from all the milk which is intended for cheese. The *yougourt* or sour curdled milk does not at all please strangers: it is, nevertheless, a wholesome food to which a person is soon reconciled, and which he then eats with pleasure: it is found in abundance throughout the EAST.

There comes from the northern coast of the BLACK SEA, a prodigious quantity of caviare and salted fish. Caviare is nothing more than sturgeon's spawn salted and packed up in large casks. The consumption which is made of it in CONSTANTINOPLE and in all the towns of the Ottoman Empire, is immense. It is the Greeks and the Armenians who eat the most, on account of their fasts and their lents. The Jews also live on it very frequently, because this aliment is of little value. The inhabitants also make use of various salted fishes, some of which come from the BLACK SEA, and the others from the environs of PATRAS. Those from the BLACK SEA are cut into
thongs,

thongs, salted and dried; the others are whole, dried or placed in casks with pickle. Excellent mullets salted are likewise brought from the Gulf of ENOS.

At CONSTANTINOPLE there is, under the superintendence of the PORTE, a considerable establishment in which a great number of workmen are employed in burning Arabian coffee, and in pounding it in large marble mortars. It is distributed in powder to the Turkish coffee-house keepers and dealers, according to the calls that they make for it. Private persons also have the power, in consideration of a trifling tax, of carrying coffee to this establishment, in order to have it roasted and pounded: but it is prohibited, under very severe penalties to mix with Mocha the WEST INDIA coffee, which is cheaper and less esteemed than the other. This prevents not MARSEILLES alone from furnishing the capital to the value of a million of our livres every year. True it is that in BULGARIA, BLESSARABIA, and in the environs of the DANUBE, WEST INDIA coffee is preferred to that of YEMEN, and that a great deal of it passes into those countries by the way of CONSTANTINOPLE.

MOCHA coffee is brought from ALEXANDRIA every year by the caravels of the Grand Signior: there arrives at the same time a tolerably large quantity of sugar from EGYPT, which the common people prefer to that of the Europeans, because it is cheaper, and sweetens, it is said, better than the other: it is not so well refined, and it preserves a part of its moscovade.

Combustibles; wood for carpenter's and joiner's work, and timber for ship-building.

All the wood used for fuel and cooking in the houses of private persons, in some manufactories and especially for the baths, comes from the south part of the PROPONTIS and the coasts of the BLACK SEA, situated from the Bos-

PHORUS as far as SINOPE. It is more particularly oak that is burnt: for this purpose are also employed the holm green oak, the arbutus, and almost all the trees of which I shall presently give the enumeration. From those countries is drawn a greater quantity of charcoal, because, in TURKEY, the inhabitants do not warm themselves at the fire of chimnies, as I have said elsewhere, but at that of tandours and mangals, for which charcoal only is required. The best is made of the oak and the holm, some is also made of the pine, the fir, and the arbutus.

The countries of which I have just spoken, covered with beeches, horn-beams, oaks, elms, walnut-trees, cherry-trees, pear-trees, pines, firs, chefnut-trees, plane-trees, and lime-trees, furnish the capital, in profusion, with all the wood necessary for joiner's work and for the frame-work of the houses which the inhabitants are accustomed to build with wood; and, indeed, the consumption of it is prodigious in an immense city, where frequent fires induce the necessity of rebuilding continually the houses which the flames have destroyed. There are daily arriving beams of oak, pine and fir, joists of oak and beech, for the frame-work, and planks of chefnut-tree for the roofs of houses; thin planks of walnut-tree, plane-tree, cherry-tree, pear-tree, lime-tree, oak, beech, ash, pine, and fir for joiner's work; pump-pipes and troughs in elm, pine, fir, oak, &c. &c.

There also arrives from the same countries, a great deal of ship-timber for the arsenal, and spars for masts and yards which are not inferior to those of the north of EUROPE. The PORTE also draws excellent timber for ship-building from MOLDAVIA, which is shipped at GALAS. There is a great deal in POLAND and in South RUSSIA, of which the French government had made trials some time before the revolution, with which it had been satisfied, and of which it would, perhaps, have made use, notwithstanding the clamours of some persons interested in decrying it.

SINOPE is the town of the Ottoman Empire the most within reach of ship-timber, and that in whose dock-yards at present the greatest activity prevails. Oak is extremely abundant in the environs: its wood, more handsome for joiner's work, is as good and as solid for ship-building, as that of our southern departments.

The exportation of timber fit for the construction of line-of-battle ships is strictly prohibited at SINOPE. An officer of the PORTE is incessantly employed in causing to be felled, squared, and conveyed to the arsenal such wood as he judges fit for the service of the navy. For the construction of merchant-vessels, private persons can dispose only of that which he rejects or cannot employ.

The south coast of the BLACK SEA also furnishes a very large quantity of tar, flax, and hemp for the dock yard at SINOPE, and for the arsenal of CONSTANTINOPLE. Flax and hemp are also drawn from WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the droguemans and barataires.—Of the marriage of the merchants.—Of the French workmen settled in the Levant.—Of the caravan or carrying-trade in the Levant.

THE class of droguemans deserves the most serious attention on the part of the French government, since it is on their probity, on their intelligence, and on their civism that depend the success of the negociations which are intrusted to them and the favourable issue of the private affairs with the management of which they are charged. It has long been occupied about them without ever having attained the object which it had in view. It had imagined, perhaps, that education was to supply the place of other qualities, and that it was sufficient for a man, in other respects intelligent, to know perfectly French, Turkish, and Arabic, to be a good drogueman. A preference was given to young men born in TURKEY, because they had a better pronunciation of the oriental languages and a greater facility in speaking them correctly. They were made to spend a few years in PARIS, in order to learn French, and the principles of the Turkish and Arabic languages. They were sent to finish their studies in a school of Capuchins established at CONSTANTINOPLE: thence they were scattered over the different sea-port towns of the LEVANT, and those who shewed the most capacity were afterwards sent for to reside with the ambassador.

Through an inconsiderate condescension, almost all the French droguemans had been taken from four or five families originally foreign, or for a long time past settled in the LEVANT. These men, born in TURKEY, descended from Greek or Armenian mothers, shewed us, at the period of the revolution,

TRAVELS IN THE

tion, how little reliance ought to be placed on persons of their stamp. Although they were indebted to FRANCE for their education, their profession, and their fortune, they hesitated not to go over into the service of our enemies, and to transmit to them the knowledge which they had acquired among us. Some even have been accused of having carried off the depots, and having plundered the chanceries; all, in a word, proved, on this memorable occasion, that, in the sequel, the important functions of drogusman ought to be intrusted to none but real Frenchmen, to men born in the bosom of FRANCE, and brought up and educated in her manners and customs.

I do not think that one ought to assimilate the man born in TURKEY, of a father who has long since renounced his country, of a mother a subject of the Grand Signior, of a Greek or Armenian woman who detests our customs, and ridicules our manners to him who, born in FRANCE, shall have imbibed with his milk, ideas of probity, morality, and honour. Five or six years which the former shall have passed in PARIS for his education, will not be able to destroy the impressions that he shall have received in his youth. Accustomed to live with degraded men, surrounded by relations whose mind is tarnished by flattery, educated in the school of vice, five or six years will not be sufficient for elevating his mind, for engraving in an indelible manner in his heart the love of virtue, the thirst of glory, and devotion to his country.

The reader will, perhaps, be surprised that I consider a man born in the LEVANT as less fitted for the social virtues, as less qualified to discharge functions which require probity and honour. In the first place, experience too frequently informs us that the drogusman, born and bred in TURKEY, makes no scruple of sacrificing the interests of private persons, and those of the government, when he finds any advantage in so doing. It would be shameful to say, but perhaps not very difficult to prove, that the agent falls sometimes into the snares which the drogusman contrives not to spread for him.

Too frequently the latter has forced the other to flatter by his manoeuvres, or seduced him by the gold which he has had the address to present to him, opportunely and with caution.

Besides, what can be expected from a man brought up in a country where the idea of probity and of duties is attached only to the exterior practices of a religious worship, where customs authorise a person to cause himself to be paid for the smallest service, the smallest undertaking; where justice is sold, where false evidence is paid for, where murder is redeemed, where every thing, in a word, is trafficked for without scruple, without shame, and without remorse?

The embassy of CONSTANTINOPLE is no manner resembles that of the other courts. In these the ambassador conducts affairs himself: he can develop all his talents; he can bring into action all the resources of his genius: but, at CONSTANTINOPLE, he depends solely on his drogusman: if the man whom he employs be weak or unskilful, the ambassador is no longer any thing more with the Porte than a fool or a common man. If the drogusman be a knave, the ambassador is deceived; he sees the clearest affairs take a perplexed turn, become confused, grow dark, and presents every day new incidents: their progress, according to circumstances, will be retarded by supposed obstacles. Difficulties and embarrassments will arise at every Council at length the ambassador, disgusted, will renounce his projects and abandon his undertakings.

If the drogusman, on the contrary, had the patriotism, the great talents, and the probity which we suppose in an ambassador, and if the latter, with a pure heart and a sound judgment, had only ordinary abilities, the interests of the nation would be lodged in better hands. The progress of affairs would not be clogged: the Porte would be seen to treat with confidence, loyalty, and frankness; the firmans for the punishment of delinquents, in the sea-

ports of the LEVANT, would be expeditiously delivered, and would leave no doubt, no ambiguity in their dispositions : our commerce would be effectually protected ; no Frenchman would ever be outraged or insulted with impunity : the commissaries and agents of the Republic would enjoy the consideration which they merit.

Is there, in the LEVANT, a man of any judgment who has not a thousand times made the same reflections as myself ? Is there one who has not very frequently perceived that the droguezman altered or modified at his pleasure the words which he is charged to transmit ?

It is at MARSEILLES, and not at CONSTANTINOPLE, that we must establish public schools of Greek, Turkish, and Arabic, in order that the young men who are intended for the LEVANT trade, and the mariners who are to pursue the carrying-trade there, may learn the languages of which they will stand in need, if they wish not to be deceived, if they be desirous of conducting business themselves, and of acting according to their own pleasure and without obstacles.

It is expedient to establish another school at PARIS, more particularly destined for the droguezmanship, in which should be received none but young men born or brought up in FRANCE. They should there learn not only vulgar Greek, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, but the language which is consigned in Greek and Arabic books, the Turkish and Persian which are spoken at court, and which are made use of in the acts emanating from the government.

A few years' stay in TURKEY, one or two years' apprenticeship to the commissaries and agents, would be sufficient for the pupil intended for a droguezman to catch the pronunciation, and learn all the turns of the languages for which he will have the most occasion, according as he might propose to
serve

serve the capital or the sea-port towns of the LEVANT, GREECE, or SYRIA. Besides, there would be no harm in his preserving a foreign pronunciation: the Mussulman has almost always for the European the respect with which he thinks that he may dispense towards the man who, born in TURKEY, appears to him no more than a slave in disguise.

An infinite number of advantages would result if the drogoumanship were, in the LEVANT, the nursery of the agents and commissaries of the commercial relations: there would necessarily be seen in them more zeal, more information, more attachment, and more probity*. Business in the sea-port towns of the LEVANT would be better transacted and much more quickly terminated if the commissary were acquainted with the language of the country, if he had learned by a long experience, to know the Mussulmans and all the subjects of the Grand Signior.

But, above all, it would be necessary to obtain from the PORTE that the French drogouman should present himself in an European dress, in a particular uniform, and that he should not be subject to the Turkish customs and ceremonial; for were the drogouman to continue to humble himself before a pacha, a mutselim, a simple writer of the PORTE; were he always to be in fear of the bastinado; were he obliged to offer them submissively his head, to kiss the skirt of their robe, how could he preserve that independence of opinion, that inflexibility of character, that elevation of mind so necessary to a commissary in the LEVANT?

Current affairs of little importance would continue to be transacted by the drogoumans of the country, creatures vile at this day, whose whole oc-

* Citizen RUFFIN, formerly drogouman, at this day *chargé d'affaires* of the Republic at the PORTE, would furnish us, if it were necessary, with an incontestable proof that the interests of the nation could not sometimes be placed in better hands.

cupation is to avoid the stick of the Turks and to pick up money from those who employ them, but who might be easily turned to account by means of barats wisely granted.

I am not willing to have recourse to those Greeks, to those Armenians, to those opulent Jews who purchase a barat only in order to have a right to wear slippers like those of the Muffulmans, or pay no more than three per cent. for custom-house duties, and who, by that means, place their life and their fortune under the safe-guard of an European power. I consider it as extremely unbecoming and impolitic that an ambassador has it in his power to sell at a very high price his protection to such men, who very frequently expose his credit, who always take up a part of his time, and who bear towards the European merchants a remarkable prejudice.

* Barats ought to be given gratuitously to those who shall devote themselves to the service of the sea-port towns of the LEVANT, who shall undertake all laborious and disagreeable functions, and who, poor and without interest, will be almost always the agents of the merchants. These men, from whom the commissaries of commercial relations shall be able to cause the barat to be withdrawn because they have not purchased it, shall be obliged to conduct themselves honestly if they wish to preserve it and enjoy the privileges which are attached to it.

Long experience had formerly taught the government, how wise it was to prohibit the merchants and agents whom it employed in the LEVANT, from marrying with the women of the country. This law, which favour and protection sometimes silenced, ought to be restored to vigour and rigorously executed: the interest of the merchant and the advantage of the State alike demand this. It is so much the more necessary, as there exists one in TURKEY, which declares *rayas* or tributary subjects the children of the Europeans who

are born from a Greek or Armenian woman a subject of the Grand Signior.

Independently of the woman, born in the LEVANT, preferring oriental indolence to the cares of a family, and consuming in nonsense, in dress, and in trinkets, considerable sums, she has generally so little attachment and gratitude to him to whom she is indebted for comfort and repose, that, following the example of the Mussulman women, she neglects nothing to purloin from him his savings and deprive him of the means of returning to his own country. The husband, not being able to prevail on his wife to follow him, to renounce sofas, vapour-baths, and customs which she has contracted from her infancy, assumes by degrees the habits of the country. Idleness gets hold of him, old age takes him by surprise, and death carries him off: his family renounce for ever the mother-country. They would even soon forget it, did not their interest invite them to preserve the protection which the father enjoyed.

Draguemans were not generally comprised in this prohibition, because they were, undoubtedly, expatriated for ever; while the merchant was likely to return to FRANCE after twelve, fifteen, or twenty years of labours, and bring back with him the fortune which he would not fail to make in the LEVANT when he conducted himself with intelligence and economy*.

On arriving at CONSTANTINOPLE and in the sea-port towns of the LEVANT, we were very much surpris'd to find every where a great number of French workmen who had brought into these countries the arts of EUROPE, and who enjoyed, under the protection of the ambassador and the agents of the

* Young lads were sent to the commercial houses of the LEVANT at the age of fifteen or eighteen: the greater part were book-keepers at twenty-five: ten years were sufficient for them to make a fortune which allowed them to return to FRANCE and there marry.

Republic, the produce of their industry without either paying taxes or imposts. If these workmen and these artists expatriated themselves only in order to acquire riches and return sooner or later to bring them back to their country, if they did not do a considerable injury to the national commerce and industry by teaching the Turks to dispense with us, by establishing our workshops, our manufactories among them, certainly they deserved that an ambassador should procure them the enjoyment of all the advantages granted to merchants.

But how far are they from resembling those estimable men who, removed from their natal land, devote themselves to a painful labour, who consent to pass the prime of their life among barbarians, who see themselves exposed to the poniard of assassins, to fires, to the plague, and to the malignant influence of some marshy countries, with a view of establishing between TURKEY and FRANCE a commerce of barter extremely advantageous, a commerce which enlivens our workshops, increases our population, forms a great number of sailors, diffuses plenty in some places, and comfort every where!

The French workman, by doing a prejudice to his country, drags on in the LEVANT a lingering existence. His profits are very limited, and he very seldom acquires, by persevering labour, and the strictest economy, wherewith to be able to return to his country. The workman, besides, hurried sometimes into gaming-houses and taverns, may, in the sea-port towns of the LEVANT and even at CONSTANTINOPLE, expose the fate of all the French, in a moment of ebriety, or in one of those fits of passion which shall lead him to the commission of an offence somewhat serious.

For his own advantage, the workman ought to be sent back to his own country, unless his stay in the LEVANT be found useful to the ambassador and

to FRANCE, and if he refused to depart, he ought, without his having a right to complain, to be refused a protection which he does not merit.

The ignorance of the Orientals in the art of navigation, and, above all, the fear of Maltese privateers, had in all times induced the Turks to make use of Venetian, Ragusan, and French vessels for the conveyance of their merchandise from one town to another. They also had recourse to the boats of the country; but they then preferred those belonging to the Greeks who had obtained a pass from the archbishops of SYRA and NAXOS.

The French had always in the seas of the LEVANT a great number of vessels solely employed in carrying from one *echelle** or sea-port town to the other the merchandise with which they were laden, and from which they derived a tolerably advantageous freight. This carrying-trade, known in the South of FRANCE under the name of *caravane*, was a practical school of navigation, and a rather considerable source of wealth to some towns of ancient PROVENÇE. None were better acquainted with the seas of the LEVANT, used greater expedition in their voyages, and navigated with greater advantage for the traders, than the Provençal mariners. The navigation of the Venetians and Ragusans was extremely slow and timid: it presented more dangers, because they sometimes ran their vessels ashore, by wishing, on the smallest sign of bad weather, to gain a harbour or roadstead.

Independently of the freights which yielded profits to all those who had concurred in the construction, purchase, and outfit of the vessel, the captain never failed to enrich himself sooner or later when he was active, intelligent

* *Echelle* comes from the Italian word *scala*, because there exist in all the harbours and roadsteads of the LEVANT, in lieu of quays, ladders or wooden steps, which project into the sea for the access of vessels and boats, and for facilitating the embarkation and debarkation of persons and goods.

and frugal, and the sailors themselves, besides their wages, gained a great deal by the small parcels of goods which they carried from MARSEILLES, or which they made up in the LEVANT in going from one sea-port town to another. This last-mentioned profit is very considerable: there is twenty-five per cent. to be gained by choice merchandise. The intelligent seaman who was well acquainted with the LEVANT, did not fail to avail himself of the circumstance. This gain, repeated five or six times in the course of the year, soon doubled and tripled the capital. I have known a great number of sailors who supported at MARSEILLES, at LA CIOTAT, at ST. TROPEZ, or at LA SEINE, a numerous family, and who, besides, procured themselves early in life a competence for the remainder of their days.

A vessel was divided into twenty-four shares or "kirats, and each share might be subdivided according to the intentions of the share-holders. The vessel was to return at the expiration of three years. The profits were divided, according to the account of the captain, between the parties interested, after deducting the expenses which had been incurred for the wages of the crew, and such repairs and refitting as were found necessary.

For some time past it had been perceived that the share-holders gained so much the less, as the captains enriched themselves the more quickly; however, though dishonesty had found its way among the greater part of them, the most shameless even still brought wherewith to keep up in the share-holders the confidence which has always been placed in this kind of speculation. The small towns which I have just mentioned, had by this means acquired a considerable increase; there existed among the inhabitants a degree of comfort which was not to be seen in those that were merely agricultural.

There were reckoned upwards of a hundred vessels employed in this carrying-trade, generally manned each by eight or ten hands, including the captain

and mate. The trade which was regularly carried on from MARSEILLES with all the sea-port towns of the LEVANT, employed four or five hundred. The *caravane*, as is seen, ought therefore to be encouraged at the peace, as well on account of the profits which it procures, as of the practical knowledge which our seamen acquire in the seas of the LEVANT.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

